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THE
CHURCH REVIEW

VOL. XLVIII.—JULY, 1886.—No. CLXII.

SOME POINTS IN THE LABOR QUESTION.

WHAT the country has to dread almost as much as a continuance of the present disturbance is the reaction which, according to a law observed in human affairs, is likely to follow it; but the disturbers on both sides are responsible for both the disturbance and the reaction. Taken together, their responsibilities are fearful.

The subject of the mutual duties of the richer and the poorer, the employing and the employed, those who live immediately by the use of their faculties and those who live or get wealth by means of some other sort of capital than these faculties, is not only an evangelical subject; it is a subject more fully and freely treated in the Gospel than it is by the modern pulpit. Even the preachers who appeal most scrupulously to Scriptural example and authority handle it with more reserve and less frequently than the Apostolic and prophetic teachers of the two Testaments or our LORD Himself. The general missionary Board of the Church being a hundred and fifty thousand dollars in debt, the material sources of the Church being alarmingly crippled, the industrial and financial complications of the country forming, in the judgment of business men, an incalculable hindrance to thrift and production, it is at the same time to be noticed that the radical and practical relief to the trouble lies just where it is the calling of the Church and the ministry to make their power felt.

Undoubtedly the Labor Question may be dealt with by considerations of material interest, in the sphere of a selfish economy and expediency, or by the larger considerations which pertain to general social welfare, or by both together. Whether or how far, in the long run, on a wide scale and in the last analysis, these two classes of considerations would be found to coincide

or to blend together is a point not here discussed. But were the problem as actually presented purely a problem of material loss and gain we could hardly show any claim to attention to a discussion of it in these pages. Already the reading public has had spread before it a recent literature of the matter which if not always very profound is copious, and if not the fruit of very mature thought is sufficiently varied.

The ground we take is that the shortest and best way out of such embarrassments and sufferings as are now upon us is by a clearer and heartier recognition of principles which Christianity propounds, and which alone can bind together and bless society. On the assumption that the issues involved belong wholly to the domain of financial prosperity, the prospects before us would be even more appalling than they seem to be. The problem is too diversified and complicated, the interests are too much intermixed, the parties to be reconciled are too ill-defined, their representatives are too empty of authority, and the energies of pure selfishness are too obstinate, to encourage a hope that any adjustment of differences on a purely financial or political basis is possible at present, if ever. It is only necessary to see how the contagious spirit of insubordination and antagonism has spread within five months, in how many forms and what widely separated places it has broken out, and over what a variety of clashing objects the contest rages, to make it appear that a mere appeal to political economy is visionary. Here and there temporary compromises may be entered into, settlements that settle nothing may be patched up, but the root of the difficulty will not be reached, and in one shape or another the bitter strife will be renewed. Considerations of another kind have got to be admitted. Principles of a different nature will have to be recognized. An element in human nature as ancient and as persistent as any of its passions and ambitions must come into the case. The law of GOD must speak, and be heard. In other words, the Labor and Capital question is not only material but moral. Fundamentally it is the old question of right and wrong.

No doubt there are illusions as well as inaccuracies about these names, Capital and Labor. A great many capitalists do as much "labor" as anybody, work as hard and as many hours in the day. A great many men belonging to what is loosely called the laboring class own a certain amount of "capital." Capital is of many sorts and degrees. Much mischief is done

by an abuse of terms. Mr. Vanderbilt once said, when he was pushed in a dispute pertaining to the New York Central Road, "Gentlemen, I do as much work as any of you, and all I get for it is my board and clothes." That was not true in all the extent of the language, because wealth has some special satisfactions of its own, but there is matter for reflection in it, nevertheless, for not a few fanatical malcontents of all kinds who hate hardship, envy the rich, and count idleness a blessing. One of the last pieces of wisdom that even tolerably wise men pick up is that hardship is less unequally distributed than it seems to be, and that most of us see our own disadvantages and other people's comforts through glasses which both magnify and multiply.

Regarded under the moral aspect, an inquiry underlying nearly all the phases of the troubles going on between men who are hired and men who hire concerns the effect upon moral obligation of a multiplying or massing of men in a particular place or on a particular kind of work. It is in these conditions of combination that the troubles arise. Between a force on the one side, the side popularly called Capital, and a force on the other side, called Labor, there is a relation formed; and growing out of this relation there are duties. Suppose it is individuals that are implicated, not classes. A. has work to be done. B., A.'s neighbor, of one or another nationality, has a capacity for the work. A. agrees to pay what the work to be done is worth to him. B. agrees to do the work for what the sum agreed upon is worth to him. If with either party this valuation is changed, so that the existing agreement is unsatisfactory, there is a new negotiation and the relation is either broken or continued on a new agreement. Now comes in a new element. A., finding he cannot make terms with B., offers to another workman, C., what he has been paying to B., and is about securing his labor when B. hears of it, forbids C. to accept A.'s offer, and, being somehow the stronger, carries his point. One of two things follows. Either A. fails to get the work done, and thus two are losers, or he pays for the work more than it is really worth, and more than it would have cost him if C. had been free. C. so far loses his liberty. That is, B. takes all opportunities, and in fact finally makes them, to put up the price of his work irrespective of A.'s interests. He says a marketable commodity is worth what it will fetch. He says values are relative to the necessities of the buyer. He says he will get as much of A.'s property

into his hands as he can under the name of wages. He is not particular about the Eighth Commandment. Labor has begun to fight Capital.

On the other hand B., having work in him, wants to bring it to the best market and get for it the best possible price. He finds that besides his neighbor A. there are competing employers to whom he may sell his work, and he sees no reason why he as well as they should not be laying up money beyond the necessities of his family. The limit of his demand for wages will be fixed by the number of competing laborers about him or by his profits. But A., who wants by all means to make more money than he is making, and in his turn is not particular about the Eighth Commandment, disregards the necessities of the poor and takes advantage of them, resorts to the competition, and gets his work done at a minimum price. Capital has begun to fight Labor.

Obvious as all this is, and without noticing now various circumstances that may modify the process, it is well to see the problem in its elementary form. It shows that so long as the two parties are actuated in their mutual relations by nothing but their self-interest those relations will inevitably take on a character of opposition. A contest will result, a contest in which the active and controlling factor will be material or numerical force, and which will easily pass into hostility. The elements of the Labor Troubles therefore exist in a more or less latent or potential state wherever men are employed by men. How are they affected by a rapid growth of population, industries, enterprise, and personal liberty, under a free government, — which is our condition in the United States?

Theoretically they are not affected in the least. Practically they are complicated. Morally they are made more difficult and vastly more important. They are magnified not only by the multiplication of personal responsibilities and by the larger amount of welfare endangered, but by the introduction of another ingredient, which is a group of moral obligations that grow up out of man's social nature and which attach to society as a distinct creature subject to the will of God. Conduct which might have no injurious consequences, and be right, between Crusoe and his man Friday on an island, becomes another thing in New York or Chicago. Not merely by example, but by contact, contagion, a common life, sensibility and sympathy,

Crusoe and Friday both, the employer and the employed, by reason of the social mixture, must reckon for a different stewardship. Each man becomes his brother's keeper. To incite a mob against the rich is morally a very different thing from refusing to work for them. To join with other employers in oppressing workmen is another thing from declining to hire them on their terms. Yet these and other possible acts of serious import belong to the present question as it stands.

Evidently the difficulties springing from combinations of laborers are further aggravated by rapid immigration and the character of the immigrant. In a working class made up of native Americans strikes and riots would be possible, but they would be less violent, headstrong, fanatical or frequent than those we have seen. Some of these foreigners have crossed the ocean with a fair moral repute and a reasonable notion of what they might find here. But they are, on the whole, of every grade as to intelligence, virtue, capacity, temperament. Not a few have been greatly misinformed and misguided, and are disenchanted and disappointed as soon as they are landed. Multitudes are impatient of authority, victims of political wrong or disability, haters of law, of rank, of any privileged class. Among them are men and women of turbulent dispositions, of reckless passions, desperate, besotted, brutish, incapable of reflection, — the vicious material of which mobs are always made. As has been proved to our cost there is here and there a thinking socialist, a shrewd communist, anarchist, or nihilist leader. What is to be done about this? Nothing can be done in the way of prohibition, very little in the way of prevention. A land that by genius, pride, and proclamation is an open asylum for everything but contagious diseases and criminals subject to extradition cannot protect itself from insurrections by a harbor-discrimination or certificates of moral health. We must take what comes, Mormons and destructionists. We can make our police stronger and our criminal legislation more exact and stringent. But after all there can be no new discovery in the science of municipal rule, no patent method of dealing with this human or inhuman mass, promiscuous as it is. The appeal must be patiently taken to such better qualities as are in the mixture. Conscience, prudence, kindness, fairness, good-will must be the chief reliance. School and Church must train men fit to be capitalists, to organise industry, to manage large concerns, to

pick their workmen and deal skilfully with their imperfections. It is too late to think of going back to a restrictive emigration policy. If the nation comes to grief it must stick to its principles.

In one respect, however, its principles can be corrected without revolution or a degree of restriction that is despotic. We are beginning to see the fruits of a perilous onesidedness in our national and personal education; we have magnified liberty to the neglect of law, till the logical result appears in a contempt for law, or a conquest of law by license; we have discredited all government but self-government, have praised self-reliance and fostered self-will, have encouraged our children in the pleasing delusion that they ought to have their own way, and should be consulted as to their discipline; we have hidden the State and the Church behind a crowd of individuals; we have petted prisoners and voted scoundrels into office, and softened the penal code; we have reared successive generations in a firm belief that obedience to a superior power is a sacrifice of rights and a compromise of natural independence. Why should we be surprised if we have to reap the fruits of this nurture of insubordination in a restless, self-asserting populace, and in doctrinaire politicians? The cure is to be found in a wiser education. The children of these uprising "masses" must be taught the necessity and majesty of law, courts, magistrates. The public schools should be furnished with a manual of instruction in the value of government and the elements of good citizenship and the methods of social order. The laboring class and the employing class alike must learn that, for the settlement of all questions beyond the lines of a peaceable and private adjustment, there are tribunals surrounded with immunities and sanctities which are inviolable, and whose decisions are sustained by a power which cannot be trifled with, twisted, or resisted.

Another remedial measure quite within the reach of right-minded and Christian citizens is the adoption, among well-conditioned families representing "Capital," of a general style of life and conversation which by being moderate, temperate, and liberal may be characterised as conciliatory. Everything like sheer selfish luxury or extravagance, whatever may be its other bad effects, has this peculiar injurious property in it, that it drives classes farther asunder, kindles jealousy, angers the dis-

contented, and deepens the chasm that divides those whose real strength and safety are in their mutual confidence. There may be much in such alienation that is irrational, but it is the nature of prejudice to be unreasoning. In the eyes of the poor the display, the lavishment, the pomp and waste of the rich are so many signs of an arrogant, unsympathising superiority. There may be on the part of wealth and ease a tone that is embittering, and a tone that is winning. Wealth may say, "What concern is it of yours how I dress and eat and drink and drive, and what is the fashion of my pleasures? My bills are paid. Stand by thyself. What have we in common? Mind your business, and leave mine to me." But if the object is to avert storms and heal sores, that is the language of folly and of sin. Will not the satisfaction of so living as to disarm malice and reconcile neighborhoods and soften hearts outweigh the delights of an ostentatious self-indulgence?

What is wanted most of all in these social distractions and industrial confusions is that any two parties in opposition should take pains to look at the issue from one another's point of view. This requires some breadth of mind as well as a benevolent regard to the common good; but neither of these, in a land of general education and Christian traditions, is entirely impracticable. It is only necessary to use the faculty of thinking patiently, to quiet anger, to dismiss jealousy, to go out of the petty sphere of immediate occupations, and to examine facts. Let intelligent workmen who work for wages make a candid study of the actual methods, aims, and condition of the masters of the particular industry in which they are engaged. Let the employer, on the other hand, give an equally candid hearing to half a dozen of the best operatives in his employ, while both are in good temper and at leisure. Each party will learn a great deal, and very likely be somewhat surprised. If they could break bread together so much the better. Nothing is plainer to observers at a little distance than that the contestants in these recent struggles are fighting in the dark, striking with strokes that hit friends along with foes and are often suicidal,—a pathetic repetition of a thousand tragedies where man has killed or maimed his fellow-man for lack of knowing who the fellow-man was and what he meant. The "classes" are suffering for want of a mutual introduction and mutual interpretation, though they may live close together, serve the

same establishment, and really depend upon each other's good will. A conscientious employer of a hundred hands said the other day with unaffected grief, "I have been losing money rapidly for five years, doing my best ; I must be impoverished and wind up this business and put out the fires of this foundry, or else give the men, for a time at least, less wages ; after a while I might do better by them ; I actually run the concern as much to keep them and their families from starvation as from any expectation of profits ; I have tried to tell them so, but they will not believe me." The following quotation from a metropolitan newspaper of recent date furnishes an example of the same pitiable blindness.

The agitation for eight hours is resulting as might have been expected. Employers who have in hand contracts the profits upon which will stand an addition of twenty per cent. in the cost of labor have acceded to the demand for the time being. Employers who are carrying on business at a loss have seized upon the demand as a convenient pretext for shutting down, locking out their workmen, and staving off their creditors. In some cases compromises have been effected by which the workmen have gained. But the natural course of a prudent man, confronted with such a demand, would be to refuse it until he was able to compute precisely what the effect of it would be upon his business, and this is what has been done in the great majority of cases.

Hasty thinkers who suppose the merits of the Eight Hour question can be disposed of by a breath of philanthropic feeling will do well to look carefully through the following calculations made lately by an intelligent citizen of Albany of large acquaintance with manufacturing details.

There is no occasion for excitement or alarm at the attitude of a portion of the labor interest. To successfully establish the eight-hour system would be as difficult as to make something out of nothing, an achievement never yet accomplished. If the volume of labor is reduced twenty per cent. the cost of everything produced will be increased in the same or greater ratio, and to a large extent this increase will be paid by mechanics and laborers, who are the great consumers. This advance would be far-reaching, commencing, among other things, with the raw material from the farmer, the timber in the forest, and the iron ore in the mountains, and thence through all the various manipulations to the finished article in the hands of the consumer. Thus the cumulative increase in the cost would be something alarming. Take the case of an iron ore bed. The machinery and tools

required to open and work the same would be subjected to an increased cost of twenty per cent. ; the labor to mine the ore and transport it, and every expense connected with it, must be affected in the same proportion. More capital would thus be required to produce this ore and also by the manufacturer of pig iron to purchase it, and, therefore, interest and profit must be added to all this additional cost. Then we go on to the twenty per cent. increase in the cost of the plant, the labor, the fuel, and all the other expenses involved in converting the ore into the pig, to which must also be added interest upon this additional cost and a profit on the same. And, further, it will cost these employers twenty per cent. more to live, and therefore a larger profit than before must be made upon their respective industries. Carry on the increase to the next operation, the manufacture of bar iron from the pig, and thence to the numerous manipulations that follow, the cost of each increasing in a greater ratio than twenty per cent., and the result would be simply appalling. This statement merely gives *suggestions* of the cumulative increase in the cost of everything constructed and produced. The facts as they would be developed are now beyond comprehension. Take another example. A foundry which has the capacity for producing 3,000 tons of stoves, running 300 days of ten hours each in the year, finds the cost of labor to be, say \$150,000, or \$50 per ton. Introduce the eight hour system with ten hours' pay, the product would be but 2,400 tons and the cost \$62.50 per ton. Assuming the remaining cost of stoves for material and expenses to be \$50 per ton, the increased cost under the eight hour system with ten hours' pay would be \$10 per ton, which, added to the \$12.50, would show an increased cost of \$22.50, and, with ten per cent. profit added, \$24.75 per ton ; or, on a stove weighing 400 pounds, \$4.64, and at least \$1 additional upon the furniture and pipe. This the poor man must pay, and also a similar increase for his rent, clothing, food, and every other expense involved in the support of himself and family, and this without additional income, — all for the luxury of wasting two hours a day in idleness. This general increase in the cost of manufactured goods would reduce the amount that could be sold, and therefore the amount of labor that could be employed. Under this system there would be a loss of one fifth in the value and use of the foundry, the machinery, and the patterns. Apply this to all the manufactories in the United States in which work cannot be continued day and night with relays of hands, and the depreciation in the value of such property would be almost beyond the power of calculation. Some idea may be derived on this point from a consideration of the census report of 1880. The amount of capital employed in 253,852 manufacturing establishments is stated at \$2,790,272,606, twenty per cent. of which is \$558,054,521. The

value of the product is stated at \$5,369,579,191, twenty per cent. of which is \$1,073,905,838. In the census enumeration no works are included that have an annual product of less than \$500. Those who advocate a general application of the eight hour system can scarcely have studied the magnitude of these figures. A disturbance to our industries that should reach one tenth or one twentieth of the amounts above stated would throw our financial and economic systems into chaos and produce almost universal bankruptcy, from which the labor interest would be the first to suffer. It is evident that the eight hour system could not be established with any prospect of permanency, unless it became universal, and if this Utopian idea could by any possibility be thus accepted, importation of foreign goods would rapidly increase, provided there was any money to pay for them, or additional tariff burdens would be inevitable. If it should be possible to establish the system only in our large cities and towns, where the labor element is powerful, the business of manufacturing would soon be transferred to the country, where independent action within the laws is more thoroughly protected. Few men have ever achieved a permanent success on eight hours' daily labor. An observation in business of nearly sixty years warrants me in this assertion. The fiat condemning the human race to labor went forth at a very early day. It is still in force and probably will so continue. Experience has shown, times without number, that those young men who are strenuous for "early closing" and "half-holidays" will be distanced in the race by those who make their business, whether as employers or employees, their first concern. Whether the laws which regulate the question are just or unjust it is useless to inquire; they are imperative. If anything can be predicted with certainty, it is that the eight hour movement will come to naught. Many employers will be embarrassed for a time in filling their orders, and a far greater number of employees and their families will suffer privations during the existence of the contest; but of the final result there can be no doubt. Its success would be the greatest calamity to those who, from want of due consideration, see in it only a chance for benefit.

Having referred to Old World influences as bearing on the Labor problem, we cannot refrain from quoting some passages from a private letter just received from Professor Francis W. Newman, brother of the Cardinal, which cannot fail to be of interest to his fellow students in Political Economy.

Many of us are puzzled by *general* depression in Europe. Some attribute it to the vast expense of the armies which ambition or fear sustains. But can that affect you in the United States? In so wide extended a fact must we not look for a common cause? or if not to

one cause, yet to causes that are common to both continents? I do not underrate the wastefulness of great armaments; yet apparently a sudden total disarmament might make matters much worse until new occupations were discovered by the millions of men turned adrift. Thirty-five years ago I delivered thirteen lectures on Political Economy to a new ladies' college, and argued that even when an abundance of the first necessities of life surrounded us, the needful distribution of them to starving mouths would be arrested if, through want of versatility in the workers, coupled with great efficacy in each separate craft, great masses of workmen became superfluous. Suppose only three crafts to exist, raisers of food, producers of clothes, builders of houses. If at this moment all were in reasonable prosperity yet any rapid increase of skill or improvement of tools would produce a general glut and large dismissal of workmen if they worked under masters; and unless these workmen invented new trades which met quick approval they might starve through inability to give up equivalents for the food and clothes stored up and waiting for buyers. It seems to me that the improvement in mechanics, chemistry, and other material sciences, in this thirty-five years, has been more rapid than the development of new trades which can be undertaken by hands reared in the old trades; and that this acts equally on both continents. Again, on both continents the men who work for wages under employers are ever aiming at a higher standard of life, and band together in a resolve that, however wages may rise in good years, they shall never sink again in bad years. Here in England our workmen in many parts refuse wages which twenty years back would have been thought adequate, and think it a duty to their class to undergo semi-starvation rather than submit to reduction. I rather think this goes on with you also.

I have always expected that whenever the European continent allowed more satisfactory government they would lessen their purchase of English goods and largely import our machines or imitate them. The foreign trade of England is clearly thus undermined. Even India is bent on introducing great manufactories instead of buying from us. Large numbers of our people now see clearly that our first and best remedy is to cherish and develop our *Home Trade*, which in one way only can be done (as it were) by a stroke, *i. e.*, *by spending a hundred millions sterling less in pernicious drink*. For full fifteen years back half of our people would effect this if our capitalist class would allow to them, as you do, a *local* direct veto on drink shops: but hitherto the rich classes in power have thwarted it. With our new constitutions *perhaps* a new era opens on us. The laws of land tenure, all now see, will be largely changed. Our landlords for near four centuries have held a pernicious, tyrannical power. It is used tyrannically every day.

It is now certain to be abolished, — whether in my lifetime I cannot yet guess. Alas! so much misrule involves us, that we quarrel which grievance most urgently needs to take precedence.

Another principle of vast saving power, if it could only be seen, is that in the long run the interest of one is the interest of all. This is true of trades, employments, departments of production and manufacture, "classes," and even of persons. It takes a long time to find it out, but the world was made on that plan and the human race exists under that condition. The discovery of the secret lies at the end of a weary pilgrimage. Neither the philosophy of Hobbes nor of Rousseau can keep a permanent hold of any people under the sun. Society is not a cunning balance of self-interests, nor a see-saw of alternate ups and downs, nor is war the normal state of nations or neighbors. National greatness will come of obedience to the law that what is best for all the parts is best for the whole, and what is best for the whole is best for all the parts. Just so far as Trades Unions or Labor organisations or class combinations fly in the face of this law they are death-struck at the core. How completely this may be proved now that we have seen a sworn league of say fifty men dictating arbitrarily to the fifty-first man, telling him what he shall do and wear and earn, or shall not, turning the doctrine of liberty into a despotism and the boast of equal rights into a contemptible mockery! When will men learn that there can be no "rights" except *in the right*, no freedom but in justice? One after another half-a-dozen schemes in succession within a century in France, Socialistic and Communitistic, under leaders as capable as are likely to appear in the United States, have undertaken to reconstruct the social and industrial systems on other foundations than those laid by the Almighty Maker of mankind. Yet some agitators here seem to imagine that there is something in the American climate or soil which will enable them to succeed where Fourier and St. Simon and Cabèt and Proudhon and Comte and Bassard, with sanguine experiments at New Lanark and on the Red River and in Indiana, have utterly and ignominiously failed. With prophetic penetration M. Jules Breynat wrote in Paris in 1850: "There is no slavery so hard as Communism in action."

Not a little anxiety has been caused in the United States within the last few months by the somewhat mysterious if not

menacing attitude of an organisation of vast numerical power, the Knights of Labor. Capital, however, may be a good deal reassured when it finds the Master Workman of that order, who is clothed with an extraordinary eminence in its counsels, issuing to all its branches a manifesto not only of great intelligence and force, but breathing a spirit so much in consonance with the law of Christian ethics, as appears in the following passages : —

That our aims and objects are good is no reason why our members should be regarded as beings of superior build or material. We are no more the salt of the earth than the millions of unknown toilers who do the work of the world. In our dealings with laborers and capitalists we must deal justly and fairly by them. If we would have equity done to us we, in turn, must do equity to others. This is the aim of the Knights of Labor, and must not be lost sight of in future. . . .

We have had some trouble from drinking members and from men who talk about buying guns and dynamite. If the men who possess money enough to buy guns and dynamite would invest it in some well-selected work on labor, they would put the money to good use. They will never need the guns or dynamite in this country. It is my opinion that the man who does not study the politics of the nation and the wants of the people would make but little use of a rifle. The man who cannot vote intelligently, and who will not watch the man he votes for after he is elected, cannot be depended on to use either gun or dynamite. If the head, the brain, of man cannot work out the problem now confronting us, his hand alone will never solve it. If I kill my enemy I silence him, it is true, but I do not convince him. I would make a convert rather than a corpse of my enemy. Men who own capital are not our enemies. If that theory held good the workman of to-day would be the enemy of his fellow-toiler on the morrow ; for, after all, it is how to acquire capital and how to use it properly that we are endeavoring to learn. No, the man of capital is not necessarily the enemy of labor. On the contrary, they must be brought closer together. I am well aware that some extremists will say I am advocating a weak plan, and will say that the bloodshed and destruction of property alone will solve the problem. If a man speaks such sentiments in an assembly, read for him the charge which the Master Workman repeats to the newly initiated who joins our 'army of peace.'

If every member of the Knights of Labor would only pass a resolution to boycott strong drink so far as he is concerned for five years, and would pledge his word to study the Labor Question from its different standpoints, we would then have an invincible host arrayed on the side of justice. We have, through some unfortunate misunderstanding-

ing, incurred the enmity of several trades unions. While I can find no excuse for the unmanly attack made upon us by some of these people at a time when we stood face to face with a most perplexing question, neither can I see any good reason why there should be any cause for a quarrel. We must have no clashing between the men of Labor's army. If I am the cause of the trouble I stand ready at a moment's notice to make way for any one of my rivals whom the General Assembly may select. When I joined the Knights of Labor I left the trades union. I believe the aims and objects of our order come first ; I believe in combining all the scattered battalions of Labor's mighty host in one grand whole labor-saving invention ; steam and electricity have forever broken the power of one trade or division of labor to stand and legislate for itself alone, and with the craft that selfishly legislates for itself alone I have no sympathy. Well may we say of the men who are fighting us : 'Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do.'

More profound and far-reaching yet as a remedy for these barbarous quarrels in a half-civilised civilisation is the principle of human brotherhood. It includes justice and wisdom along with charity, as in fact love is the fulfilling of the law. It will be difficult to find any social disruption not curable by the rule so simply laid down in the New Testament as a precept, "Let no man seek his own but every man another's wealth ;" *i. e.*, allowing for the idiom, Let no man seek exclusively his own but every man also another's welfare. Call it Utopianism, call it altruism, call it impracticable theory ; it is at any rate Christianity, and it yet remains for objectors to discover a spot where it has been fairly tried without certain effects following, *viz.*, the allaying of discord and malice ; the abatement of crime ; the increase of thrift, contentment, economy, and every species of virtue ; the growth of public prosperity and private liberty. That it would extinguish the natural distinctions in men's gifts and powers, in gain or external fortune, any more than in sex, size, or feature, is nowhere promised. But that it would reduce excessive inequalities, and prevent the evil of violent or unrighteous contrasts, and forestall or heal social shocks, no political economy or experience is in a position to deny. One of the most deplorable results of these rash uprisings of an oppressed or injured class, therefore, is that it discourages the hopes of a true philanthropy, disappoints the best friends that labor and poverty and ignorance have, and chills our sympathies where they ought

to go out with the most generous and practical activity. There can be no question on which side in the debate the voice of CHRIST and the Gospel and the Church is most distinctly heard. Whoever reads the sharp instructions of S. James in the fifth chapter of his Epistle, or the repeated warnings of the other Apostles, or the most tender and yet piercing commands of the Great Master Workman Himself, will be obliged to confess that it is the rich and prosperous, not the less successful and less favored, who are most severely denounced, most in danger of ruin, and most in need of a changed and watchful mind, and of a quickened conscience.

Make a supposition not altogether extravagant. Suppose that a capitalist whose capital is invested actively in a factory or other industrial establishment, employing some hundreds of hands, while paying them at a stipulated rate should make the general welfare of these men his personal concern, — say possibly his personal enthusiasm. He cares for them, and *ex animo* sets himself to better their lot, by all means at his command and belonging to his position. He looks upon them as brothers in the family of GOD. He interests them in plans for their well-being as respects their dwellings, wholesome food, water supply, drainage, recreations, schools for their children, churches after their choice. He becomes known to all these households as friendly and kindly to them in health or sickness or bereavement. He puts up forbearingly with some rebuffs and discouragements, some petulant complaints, some ingratitude, setting them down to weakness or childishness rather than an evil will. When the business allows it he offers them an occasional holiday, explaining how and why. Against any injustice or contempt displayed towards them he takes their part and acts as their defender. There are such establishments and such employers, enough to prove that they are not impracticable. The same course is not impossible, only a little more troublesome, with a corporation. Can it be doubted that the probability of a strike in some commercial pinch or tariff exigency or other strain in that department of business would be vastly reduced by this humane spirit, or, if in a fit of exasperation it should happen to break out, the chances of its being controlled without violence or an utter disruption would be greatly increased? There are instances of landlord and tenantry abroad, there were plantations at the South in the days of slavery, where the harsh features of

a bad system have been greatly mitigated by such "fair humanities of old religion." Even where the operatives are not living in a compact neighborhood or village, but are scattered in a city, a degree of the same benignant influence can be exerted with its salutary effects. What is wanted is a faith that, in whatever measure it is exercised, not in a manner of patronising intrusion or visible condescension, but rather with manliness, tact, and a genial respect, the perils of an outbreak, or of the passions that instigate it, will be forestalled. So far as the humane spirit, which is harmonising, comes in, the selfish spirit, which is discordant and divisive, must go out.

Not unnaturally combined efforts to alter their social and financial position on the part of laborers are supposed to be associated with schemes of Socialism, Communism, and Anarchy. That such a connection is easy, and to some extent actual, must be admitted. Great injustice will be done, however, unless there is careful discrimination between one and another of the discontented movements, and also between Socialism and Communism, and between different schools and theories under each of these names. There are about as many socialistic projects in Europe and here as there are sects in religion. They have been diverging and shifting and contending ever since that strange medley of freedom and tyranny exhibited in the State of Lacedæmon and in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus. Their radical fallacy has been an oversight or else a misconception of the two-fold law in man's constitution which sets him in a balance between the needs and claims of his own individual life on the one hand and those of his associate and related life on the other. Coupled with this fallacy is another, that the false distinctions, wrongs, and miseries which abound in the world are due to external conditions, circumstances, "environment," where they are really due to human nature as it has been for thousands of years; that cause is to be cured through effect, instead of effect through cause. Yet, seeing how often they have had their origin in a sincere desire to benefit the less favored portions of the one human family, or in frightful abuses of power, property, and privilege, we can afford to treat even these delusions with a kind of respect. Nature has two purposes with man, first to make the most of him as a unit by developing all the personal quality and force peculiar to himself, and no less to turn him to the best account as an active recipient and agent among his fellows.

Society as a system of mutual interactions and assistances may be sacrificed to the individual as in the philosophy of Hobbes and in the practice of despots. The individual may be sacrificed to society: this is Socialism, always illogical and inconsistent, which stands in much the same relation to society as conventionalism to good manners, artifice to art, or sciolism to science. There is a social science. It is making some progress, and it would make a stronger and speedier progress if it were kept in closer contact with the law of CHRIST. Of the two chief sources of light, historical experience and revelation, the first alone cannot be adequate. New exigencies arise, in thought and action, for which precedents and the past provide no sufficient rule. The creed and lessons of Christianity express the mind of the Maker of man and society alike. And so long as of these a Divine sacrifice is the central fact, and self-denial the characteristic mark and essential duty, so long systems that aim chiefly to make life easy, to free it from care or toil, and to accommodate it to self-will, must be adjudged false and futile. The conflict is not necessarily one of arms or visible forces, but it is none the less irrepressible, and sooner or later the one party or the other must be utterly overthrown.

Speaking generally, Socialism attempts to bring about human equality by arrangements pertaining to labor and property. Communism attempts to obtain indulgence for the senses, liberty for passions and inclinations, exemption from obedience and sacrifice, by abolishing institutions, like civil government, private property, and marriage, in which there is an element of prohibitory law. Against the latter several of the modern Labor Leagues and Guilds raise a vigorous protest. Some of them, as we have seen, disown sympathy with the former.

Without referring in detail to all the specific varieties of socialistic theory, we may say that, with respect to labor, the object has been to produce a greater equality, a smaller amount relatively to the production of value, and more agreeableness or interest in the performance. When we look closely we see that, in view of innate and constitutional differences, no external measure of amounts of labor is possible, that a diminution of hours of work beyond certain limits yields by no means a corresponding blessing, and that there is as yet no better sphere for disclosing to men what they are best fitted for than the ordinary industrial competition.

Of private property it is alleged that the acquisition of it by the prevalent competitory methods stimulates selfish and alienating propensities, and that wealth unavoidably engenders a dangerous and oppressive kind of power. To which it is replied: 1. That the stimulus of personal thrift develops energies and faculties which are a positive good; 2, that the temptations to excess and luxury, to avarice and covetousness, which attend a fair competition, form a necessary school for virtue, offering a resistance and a discipline without which it would never acquire robustness or a heroic mastery; and 3, that, in the same way, over against abuses of riches are set advantages of personal vigilance and beneficence, ingenuities in charity, glories of self-sacrifice, which ensure nobler examples of human kind than a monotonous, easy-going, unearned comfort. Here is also urged the absolute impossibility of flattening down into uniformity the conditions of a race of men whose capacities are made unequal by the Creator, however you may throw into common stock and redistribute their goods.

Of the passions, whereas it is declared that their evils spring from the resistances imposed upon them by law, Christian philosophy answers, No, but from their own tendency to excess. Whereas Socialism says they are to be managed through outward circumstances, experience and the Bible say, No, but by an inward power of the will under the HOLY SPIRIT which is equal to their control, — sensual importunity being subdued not by indulgence but by a higher command.

Something of the socialist sophistry attaches to the measures which, without forming phalansteries or "communities," do virtually interfere with what may be called the regular working of the social laws. Class-leagues for cheapening provisions are just as likely to disturb the broad partnership of employments and obstruct final harmony as the class-exclusiveness at the other end of the social scale. The English trades unions which proposed to do away with master mechanics failed. So did Mr. Babbidge's scheme of association for reducing the cost of the necessities of life among factory operatives. These devices show the fate of sumptuary legislation. By act of Parliament a rule of minimum wages was once applied to the Spitalfields weavers. It was amiably intended to protect the workmen, but in twenty years four thousand looms were standing idle, and the hands were out of work and wages. Strikes sometimes

carry their point, but it is questionable whether it pays in the long run to take the course of demand and supply suddenly out of its natural channels. If the industry of laborers increases the prosperity of the employer, then it increases his ability, if not his disposition, to pay good wages.

A studious recognition of these laws of reciprocal interdependence which bind the several trades and professions together is a matter of profound importance not only to our ideas of reform, but to our personal conduct, especially in periods of financial distress. It is not so much the "times" as the hearts of men and women that are "hard." Up to a certain point, retrenchment in expenditure, as we have said, is a relief. But beyond that point it cripples trade and aggravates the stagnation. The disorder is an exceptionally depressed state of credit and business. If they who are able to buy then revolutionise their habits and cut off all the comforts they can possibly spare, whatever the effect may be upon themselves, they stop the streams of income that feed thousands of small homes, cast an unsalable stock of merchandise upon the hands of dealers, and may even turn mechanics, florists, dress-makers, and domestics into paupers. There is a line between extravagance and liberality. Abrupt changes in modes of living on an extensive scale are cruel. A gracious prudence would say, "Waste nothing; pay as you go; preserve as nearly as you can an even and moderate rule of outlay, and satisfy the commercial expectations which you have awakened. Shocks and convulsions are the malady; cure them, as far as lies in your power, by a steady and regular disbursement."

"Man never yet fastened one end of a chain round the neck of his brother," says Lamartine, "that God's own hand did not fasten the other end round the neck of the oppressor." It is with many a robbing and despotic class as Gibbon says it was in a Byzantine palace, — the emperor becomes the first victim of the superb and heartless display he appoints. Only by a cheerful obedience to laws of common welfare which God has impressed upon His human household can we render our little contribution to His mighty plan. Poised between the good of the individual and the rights of the whole, the great welfare of the world makes its unsteady, gradual advance. The religion of CHRIST is our leader and guide in every endeavor to forward it. The Almighty Father is over it to correct our mistakes.

Strikes are symptoms. Behind the disorder is disease. Specific remedies may deal here and there with particular outbreaks, but for social health in the body of the commonwealth nothing can avail, in the long run, but personal character. The world's business must be done by men of genuine manhood and a lofty spirit, or it will be done with hitches and botches. The masters of industries must be masters of themselves, of ideas, and of human sympathies. Till there is in the organising and owning class some breadth of comprehension, with a sense of the responsibility of ownership, a discontented tenantry and proletary are inevitable. Doubtless it will have to be seriously considered, too, whether there is not a limit to the moral right of accumulation. A man may appear now and then who is equal to the right management of ten millions of money; but such stewardship requires remarkable stewards, a rare genius and a rarer soul. A vast and ominous evil inheres in the very existence of enormous fortunes. They breed intense jealousy, anger, hatred, insurrection. Throughout the workmen's quarters, the beer shops, the factory gangs in all our cities there is a seething mass of wrath and cursing at these colossal estates. An unreasoning impatience takes a short cut to a conclusion, and finds it impossible to reconcile such hideous inequality with justice on earth or in heaven. A million men wishing that a thousand of their neighbors were out of the world are an unsafe element in the body politic. Will not the passionate wish some time beget the tragical fact?

Is it chimerical to expect that in time capitalists will appear whose minds and hearts are proportioned to their property, who are not obliged to dodge behind their furniture for fear of being dwarfed by it, and who, when their riches reach a certain mark, make themselves trustees for God and charity, putting cheerfully away from them in wise institutions of education, culture, mercy, common benefit, religion, on principle and by a rule, what they cannot by any wit or device make useful to themselves, or anything but a snare to their children? Such men need not be much afraid of strikes. They may find what the other night one of them did find to his surprise, in a time of incendiary craft and threatened murder, a voluntary patrol and vigilance police of factory operatives keeping watch in turn about his lawns and buildings all night.

F. D. HUNTINGTON.

THE EARLY CREEDS OF ASIA.

THERE is no period in the world's history that is more matter of fact than the present. The ideal is very much sacrificed to the useful. A reaction will doubtless hereafter take place, and we shall then know, more fully than ever before, that there is a truth higher than scientific knowledge. This higher truth, however, must rest on facts as indisputable as any on which science now rests. That we are spiritual and mental beings are facts as certain as that we are physical. Our moral and so our civil law rests on the fact of our spiritual nature, while it is sustained by our mental and physical powers.

All nature thus works in perfect harmony, and the scientist has as much right to demand the recognition of the laws of science as the moral teacher to demand a recognition of the moral law in the fullest extent of its imperial province. The latter is not so fully demonstrable as the former, our knowledge of it being so limited by our finite minds studying infinity. History teaches us that it does not run parallel with our mental and physical developments. Indeed, nations such as Assyria, Egypt, and Greece may attain a greatness in art and the comforts of life unsurpassed prior to the present century, and yet be so devoid of moral development as to be justly termed barbarous when judged by that standard alone. While on the other hand in India we see a nation whose whole literary class was absorbed in the great metaphysical question of our being, and never arose in thought beyond childhood.

Thus we see the same great law prevailing in nations as in individuals. No faculty can be developed alone without a fatal consequence. Hence, the difference between ancient and modern nations. Their aims were single, however much they differed in respective nations; and consequently their respective national existence was short compared with ours. The nation, like the individual, must develop its every faculty to grow to the full stature. The year 1 A. D. is as marked a period in the

history of nations as of men. JESUS CHRIST brought life and immortality to nations as well as to men. No nation that has risen since that date to the consciousness of a nation has since sunk beneath the horizon ; for Poland never rose to the consciousness of a nation. Her choice of foreigners for her kings was a confession that she had not her individuality, her independence.

The material aim of this age is not without its virtue. The eager pursuit of wealth stimulates to the invention of machinery that makes production easier and cheaper, and thus brings the leisure for higher studies that could have never been enjoyed under our old manual system with our increased population whose wants always exceed the supply. Thus the pursuit of wealth produces its counteracting power, and while the colossal fortunes of private individuals of the present age are unprecedented in the past, yet no age has more developed the responsibility of the individual than the present. The homage thus paid to society may be false ; but it is at least an acknowledgment that our civilisation demands it, and that without it the individual resigns his humanity.

This responsibility is not confined to the individual by himself ; it is recognised even more fully by the nation, or its supreme representative, the government. It cannot be performed vicariously, as in olden times, that is to say, by a priesthood to dispense charity to men and offer prayers to God. Laity and clergy are on the same footing. In the search for truth, for instance, with respect to our Sacred Books, men of the highest practical talent are employed, at an expense paid either by government or individuals unknown in former years. Germany, France, England, and Italy alike contribute to the exploration of Palestine, the Sinaitic Desert, Egypt and Assyria, that we may know all that can possibly be discovered, throwing any light, however faint, on the record which we hold as our sacred chart. Whatever other expenses there may be, whether in carrying on offensive or defensive wars or in extending commerce, they cannot be pleaded as an excuse for not prosecuting those explorations. The statements made in that record are questioned ; and it becomes at once the national duty to procure the best and the fullest evidence. So, also, a few years ago it was alleged that the writings of India and Persia would show the source whence the Hebrew derived his best thoughts.

Instead of leaving it to the wrangling of disputants, the University of Oxford, in obedience to its high responsibility as the teacher of England, at once engaged the first scholars of Europe and Asia to translate the Sacred Books of the East, that we might have the best evidence of the facts alleged. Thus we see no rank or class excluded from these researches. All in some way contribute, directly or indirectly; for all recognise their responsibility and that each for himself must know, so far as he can, the truth.

We purpose examining this evidence; not *in extenso*, as that would be far beyond our limits; but to confine ourselves to the latest conclusions arrived at by the greatest Oriental scholars.

It is difficult to believe that the Lapp, in his dug-out sledge, resembling the Indian canoe cut in half, drawn by a single trace by the reindeer guided by a single rein, over the snow-fields of the Arctic, and the Tartar of the steppes of Central Asia represent that branch of the human family to which we owe our earliest civilisation and our earliest religious beliefs. Nevertheless, the oldest memorials which we possess are written in their Turanian language and belong to cities and monarchs which bore Turanian names.* The names of all the great towns of ancient Assyria and Babylonia were Turanian, translated into Semitic by their later inhabitants, and the thirty thousand tablets on astronomy, astrology, mythology, agriculture, etc., from the library of Assurbanipal, now in the British Museum, are but Semitic translations from the Turanian libraries of Elam and Accadia, whose people was once the dominant people of Chaldea, and the ancestors of the Lapp and Tartar. The Assyrians, says Professor Sayce, entered into the labors of others, content, apparently, with the knowledge thus obtained, and neither in literature nor science progressing beyond their instructors.

Whether this was owing to the incubus of a learned language unknown to the populace and the exclusive possession of a priest caste, as suggested by Canon Rawlinson, may be questioned. The same condition is found in every other nation of antiquity prior to the rise of Greece, with the exception of Egypt and Israel, even when their literature cannot be said to be in a foreign tongue. Professor Max Müller finds some difficulty in reconciling the idea of growth with the character of a

* *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. I. p. 298.

revealed religion, which can be discovered only by patient study ; and he says that the object of the writers of the Old Testament seems to be to hide these traces rather than to display them.* We have never noticed this desire in the Old Testament writers, and from a careful study of the Sacred Books of the East and of the Records of the Past we should give as the surest test of a revelation its constant growth. It is true that it may be thrown open from the first to its fullest extent and filled up afterwards in detail as the human sight is able to bear it, or it may be gradual in its development as the human mind is capable of understanding it. But both would be equally a growth to man, and in keeping with his gradually developed knowledge of the natural world, whose laws are as fully acting now as at the commencement, but not discovered by him until his mind becomes capable of understanding them. To use the beautiful thought of Dr. Davison on the first prophecy to man : " But though the prophetic sight was thrown open at once to this extent, it was dim and the vision of it was but the image of a cloud — the objects were shown darkly, and the mirror of Faith was obscured by the shadows which rested upon the gates of Paradise, from which man was made an exile." †

When we remember that the ancestor of the Lapp and Tartar was once the dominant race of Chaldea and Babylonia, there is no difficulty in believing that he inhabited the earliest cradle of civilisation. From the Turanian country of Babylonia came the progenitors of the Hebrews, Terah and Abraham, driven out probably by a Cushite invasion and the introduction of an idolatry abhorrent to them. There was married Jacob, and Balaam afterwards dwelt. The Hiddekel and Gihon, which flowed through Adam's Eden, are but Accadian names of the Euphrates and Tigris. The Sabbath is the Accadian *Sabbateu*, coeval in their tradition with creation, their account of which more nearly resembling the Mosaic than any found elsewhere.

When the upper region was not yet called heaven, and the lower region was not called earth, and the abyss of Hades had not yet opened its arms, then the chaos of waters gave birth to them, and the waters were gathered into one place. No man yet dwelt there ; no animals yet wandered there ; none of the gods had yet been born. Their names were not spoken ; their attributes were not known.

* *Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 126.

† Davison on *Prophecy*, p. 55.

Then the eldest of the gods Lakmu and Lakhamu were born and grew up. . . . Assur and Kissur were born next and lived through long periods. Anu . . . he constructed dwellings for the great gods. He fixed up constellations whose figures were like animals. He made the year. Into four quarters he divided it. Twelve months he established, with their constellations, three by three, and for the days of the year he appointed festivals. He made dwellings for the planets; for their rising and setting. And that nothing should go amiss, and that the course of none should be retarded, he placed with them the dwellings of Bel and Hea. He opened great gates on every side; he made strong the portals on the left hand and on the right. In the centre he placed luminaries. The moon he appointed to rule the night and to wander through the night until the dawn of day. Every month without fail he made holy assembly days. In the beginning of the month at the rising of the night it shot forth its horns to illuminate the heavens. On the seventh day he appointed a holy day, and to cease from all business he commanded. Then arose the Sun in the horizon of heaven.* . . .

This tablet, with fragments of others of the same series, was found in the library of Assurbanipal, and in the opinion of the late George Smith, the distinguished Assyriologist, is a copy from a Chaldean work as old as B. C. 2000. It is to be very much regretted that the other tablets of the same series are too much mutilated to be legible.

The old tradition mentioned by Milton, that mankind was created in the room of the rebel angels, is found in another tablet entitled the Revolt in Heaven; † and the tablet known as the Tower of Babel tablet records that "Babylon corruptly to sin went and small and great mingled in the mound. To their stronghold in the night he (the god Anu) an end made. In his anger also the secret counsel he poured out, to scatter abroad his face he set; he gave a command to make strange their speech." †

The story of the enmity of the serpent and that of the flood are both found in these Turanian records, as they are in those of almost every other nation; but in these Turanian records we see the same incidents as found in the Mosaic accounts: The god Bel in his battle with the Dragon using the sword which turned four ways like that of the angel guarding the gate of Eden; and an old Accadian ritual speaks of "the over-

* *Babylonian Saint's Calendar, Records of the Past*, vol. vii. p. 160.

† *Ibid.* p. 129.

whelming flood of Na " more than once. This ritual does not belong to what is generally known as the Deluge Series translated by the late George Smith, and now so well known as not to need reciting here. The Mosaic account of the deluge contains two versions merged into one: one called the Jehovistic, which gives the duration of the flood as only one hundred and one days; and the other the Elohist, which makes it three hundred and sixty-five days; which latter the late Fr. Lenormant thought was based on a Chaldean astrological calculation.*

From these records it will be clearly seen that the Hebrew patriarchs before the migration into Palestine were familiar with the early traditions of our race in forms closely resembling those given by Moses. The difference between them we shall reserve to a later page after we have examined the sacred records of other Asiatic nations with whom the Hebrews came in contact.

The Assyrian, as before said, added nothing in literature or science to what he received from his Turanian instructors. Patient, laborious, and painstaking, he appreciated the useful more than the ornamental, the actual more than the ideal; satisfied to rest on the traditions of other nations, but most exact in recording the exact dates and numbers of his conquests and captives; exhibiting to us, as Canon Rawlinson says, a nation whose great and sole aim was the actual and useful, and which in the arts and appliances of life was nearly on a par with our own; furnishing a warning, oft since repeated, that the greatest material prosperity may coexist with the decline, and herald the downfall, of a kingdom.†

While the Assyrian added nothing to literature or science, we are nevertheless greatly indebted to him for preserving what may be justly called the dividing ridge between the Semitic and Aryan creeds. The records above cited belong solely to the former, and find no place in the early writings of the latter. But in the deluge tablet we see the first germ of that dualism which so strongly marked the later Zoroastrian religion, and in other tablets that peculiar form of nature worship wherein Magism differs from the nature worship of Egypt, and even of the Indo-Iranians.

Dualism is generally believed to be an inseparable part of

* Lenormant's *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, p. 412.

† Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 512.

Zoroastrianism ; and if we had only the Vendidad in evidence it could hardly be denied. There is no doubt but that the great contest, always going on in nature, asking the question repeated even down to our own day, —

Are GOD and Nature then at strife,
That Nature lends such evil dreams?
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life,

has always been one of more burning moment to the Aryan than to the Semitic. It may be from the natural tendency of his mind to scientific inquiry rather than from any superstition. The superstition may have been a later growth when he found his calculations all at fault in giving an answer. Astronomy and astrology were both unknown in Israel even under the later kings, while they have characterised the inhabitants of Babylonia and Chaldea throughout all ages, and the Magi have transmitted to us their name in "magic." It is true that those sciences were derived originally by them from the earlier Turanian races, but they found their affinity in the Aryan and not in the Semitic races.

This Turanian influence, however, was not unresisted ; and the Gathas show us that Zarathustra Spitama entered his solemn protest, sealed probably with his life, both against it and against the polytheism of the Indo-Iranians.

The age of that great man is unknown, and is left entirely to conjecture. Martin Haug believes him to have been a contemporary of Moses, or even earlier ; while Monier Williams thinks him to have been of the age of Pythagoras, Buddha, and Confucius ; a difference of about a thousand years. Both suppositions testify to his greatness, as both are founded on the belief that he must have been contemporary with some great religious revolution in other countries. Dr. Haug's date rests on the tradition that the Zoroastrian writings said to have been destroyed by Alexander the Great were the work of many centuries. It seems very improbable that the pupil of Aristotle would have committed such an outrage to literature ; and this evidence is so slightly sustained by any other that we cannot but believe Spitama to have been a much later reformer. The monotheism of the Gathas, which are believed to be undoubtedly the writings of Spitama, resembles so closely the creed of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, and differs so much from

the teaching of the Vendidad and the Yasts, that we cannot acquiesce in Dr. Haug's opinion; while we think that of Professor Monier Williams of too late a date. Dr. Haug's *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees* were published in 1862, when the entire literature of Persia and India was believed to have been of a much earlier date than is now generally held. Dr. Haug dates the Gathas as not later than B. C. 1200; the Vendidad about B. C. 900 or 800; the younger Yasna about B. C. 800 or 700; and the Yasts and Visparad later. In the Farvardin Yast we have a reference to Buddha: "Through their (the Fravashis) brightness and glory a man is born who is a chief in assemblies and meetings, who listens well to the holy words, whom Wisdom holds dear, and who returns a victor from discussions with Gatama, the heretic." This, says Darmesteter, seems to be an allusion to controversies with the Buddhists, or Gotama's disciples, whose religion had obtained a footing in the western parts of Iran as early as the second century before CHRIST. We may therefore take this last named date as that of the Yasts. Dr. Haug thinks they should be dated as early as the fifth century B. C. We cannot but agree with Dr. Haug and dissent from Professor Darmesteter, on the evidence cited by the former, that the religion of Zoroaster Spitama was a strong protest against the polytheism of the Indo-Iranians; and the date of that revolution can only be approximately ascertained by the evidence cited by him. The religion of Spitama and his followers was undoubtedly the religion of Asura, while that of the Indo-Iranians was that of the Devas. The latter word is always used by the Zoroastrians in a bad sense, and by the Vedic and Brahmanical writings in a good sense. But the word Asura is with two exceptions used in the Rigveda in a good sense; and only in the last book of the Rigveda in a bad sense. Now it is acknowledged by all Oriental scholars that this last book was written much later than the former books; and it is only when we come to the Atharvaveda that we find the word Asura used generally in a bad sense; the Bishis being therein said to have frustrated the tricks of the Asura. We think, therefore, that the preaching of Spitama Zoroaster against the polytheism of the Devas, and of the sole sovereignty of Asura Mazda, the sole wise creator, must have been contemporary with the Atharvaveda, and not prior to it, or at least not long prior to it. In further proof of this we find

in the Atharvaveda a hymn in honor of Time as a god, and Spitama speaks of Ahura Mazda living in boundless Time, which expression his later followers distorted into a deification of Boundless Time.

Monier Williams says the Atharvaveda does not appear to have been recognised as a fourth Veda in the time of Menu. We do not suppose he means when what is known as the laws of Menu were codified, which was not until after the commencement of the Christian era. But even that code is thought by Max Müller to be a collection of laws which were observed not earlier than the fifth century B. C. This last named writer says in his *History of Sanscrit Literature*, that although the Atharvaveda was not from the first looked upon as part of the sacred literature of the Brahmans, it clearly belongs to the same literary period which saw the rise of the other Brahmanas, and had actually obtained the title of Veda when the Satapatha-brahmana was composed.

Again, when we recollect the religion of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, its resemblance to that announced in clear silver tones in the Gathas and in the Gathas alone of all the sacred writings of the Parsee now extant, and the strongly marked difference between it and the religion of Artaxerxes Memnon which so fully finds its responses in the Vendidad and the Yasts, we cannot believe that the last named writings were held as sacred books as early as B. C. 559, when Cyrus founded the Persian empire, and had been even then for centuries contending with the pure monotheism of Spitama preached in the Gathas, to triumph less than a century later under the serpent influence of Magism. Had the Vendidad been reckoned as a sacred volume by Cyrus he would never have ordered the pyre to be erected for Cræsus or have had his own remains committed to earth. The rapid degeneracy of Mazdeism in the Vendidad from the high exalted monotheism of the Gathas is more easily explained by the baneful influence of the Turanian Magi than by the supposition that the worship of the first and third great Persian rulers should have resembled so closely the precepts of Spitama as expounded in the Gathas, and been so unlike the entire teaching of the rest of the Zend Avesta, when all of those volumes were held equally sacred. No hearsay can outweigh that evidence ; and we cannot but hold that Spitama and Cyrus were more nearly contemporaneous than Dr. Haug

thinks, and that the Vendidad and the Yasts were subsequent to the death of the great Darius Hystaspes.

Dr. Haug, with great reason, suggests that the name Zarathustra (Zoroaster) was a priestly title given to Spitama and his successors in the priestly office, and thus accounts for the great difference in the teachings of the Gathas and the other books of the Avesta.

Whatever be Spitama's age or country, there can be no question but that he was a great reformer. His monotheism resembled more that of Mohammed than of Moses; teaching nothing of the nature of God, but simply proclaiming His being and His supremacy, a truth as high then amid the polytheism of the Asiatic nations as it was afterwards amid that of Arabia; and it is not improbable but that, as afterwards the successors of the Arabian prophet led the hordes of Central Asia in victory from the Atlantic to the Ganges under the battle-cry of "There is but one Allah, and Mohammed is His Prophet," so Zoroaster Spitama or his immediate successors, under the like cry of "There is but one Ahura Mazda, and Zoroaster is his Prophet," led the tribes of the Persian mountains in victory from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. Higher than this the Asiatic nations, excepting Israel, could not rise; their consciousness never went beyond infancy. Mahometanism, says Dr. Arnold, 600 years after CHRIST justifies the wisdom of God in Judaism; proving that the eastern man could bear nothing more perfect. Zoroaster Spitama attained the highest thought his nation was capable of. He recognised dualism in nature, but never on the scale afterwards taught in the later Zoroastrian writings. In the Gatha Ahunavaiti he tells his assembled countrymen:—

In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word, and deed. Choose one of these spirits. Be good, be not base. And these two spirits united created the first (the material things); one *the reality*, the other the *non-reality*. To the liars (the worshippers of the devas or polytheists) existence will become bad; whilst the believer in the true GOD enjoys prosperity. Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the holy spirit. You cannot belong to both of them. Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the destroyer. All perfect beings are garnered up in the splendid residence of Vohū-Manō (the

good mind) Mazda (the wise) and Asha (the true),* who are known as the best beings. Therefore perform ye the commandments which, pronounced by the Wise (God) Himself, have been given to mankind; for they are a nuisance and perdition to liars, but prosperity to the believer in the truth; they are the fountain of happiness. He, Ahuramazda, first created through His own lustre the multitude of celestial bodies; and through His intellect the good creatures governed the unborn good mind. Thou, living Spirit! who art everlasting, make them (the good creatures) grow. When my eyes beheld Thee, the essence of Truth, the creator of life, who manifests his life in his works then I knew Thee to be the primeval Spirit; Thou, Wise Being, so high in mind as to create the world, and the Father of the good mind.

Are we not reminded in this Gatha of Him who taught on the mountains of Galilee that no man can serve two masters, being obliged to hate the one if he loves the other; and who later testified before Pilate that every one that is of the truth, the real, the actual,† heareth His voice; as well as of our daily confession that from time to time, in thought, word, and deed, we commit manifold sins and wickedness most grievously against His Divine Majesty? Or are we at a loss to understand why Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes recognised in the devout Hebrew of the captivity a fellow disciple, and listened to the great unknown prophet when Jehovah "saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid"?

The same high thought is found in the Gatha Ustavaiti.

I believe Thee, Ahura Mazda, to be the best being of all, the source of light for the world. Everybody shall believe in Thee as the source of light, Thee, Thee, holiest Spirit Mazda! Thou createst all good, true things by means of the power of Thy good mind at any time, and promises us a long life. Thus I believed in Thee as the holy God, Thou living Wise! Because I beheld Thee to be the primeval cause of life in the creation. That will I ask Thee, tell me it right, Thou living God! Who was in the beginning the Father and Creator of truth; who made the Sun and stars the way? Who causes the Moon to increase and wane, if not Thou? This I wish to know except what I already know. That will I ask Thee, tell me it right, Thou living God, who is holding the earth and the skies above it? Who made the waters

* The names of three Archangels.

† F. Robertson's Sermon on S. John xviii. 37.

and the trees of the field? Who is in the winds and storms that they so quickly run? Who is the Creator of the good-minded beings, Thou Wise?

We can only give short extracts from these Gathas or songs of Spitama, as our space will not permit more. But the sublime belief in the supremacy of God above all else is not found so clearly and forcibly expressed in any other writings of antiquity apart from revelation. Angra Mainyu, the Spirit of evil, is not mentioned in them, nor is there named in them any power in any way equal to Ahura Mazda. Evil exists in the world, and is recognised as a creation of Ahura Mazda, or allowed by Him to exist, and the contest between good and evil is not contemplated as ever ending so long as the world lasts; but the thought that Ahura Mazda had need of any aid from Zarathustra or from any one else is entirely foreign to the teaching of Spitama himself. Ahura Mazda has His ministering angels, and Spitama asks for their assistance in his own struggle with evil and for the spread of his gospel; but with no more thought that Ahura Mazda stands in need of them than we think that our Father has need of our ministering angels who always behold His face.

We have before said that the Turanian tablets known as the Deluge Series formed as it were the ridge between the Semitic and Aryan beliefs of Asia. In one of those tablets the soul of Heabani, Isdubar's Seer, is represented, on its release from Hades in its heavenward journey, as addressing Heabani himself telling him that he has returned "from the house within which is no exit, from the road the course of which never returns, from the place within which they long for light; the place where dust is their nourishment and their food mud." And in the xxii. Yast, on the third night after death, the conscience of the faithful man in the shape of a maiden, white-armed, strong, tall, high-standing, as fair as the fairest in the world, on being asked by the deceased, "who art thou?" replies, —

I am thy own conscience. Everybody did love thee for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow in which thou dost appear to me; and so thou, O youth of good thoughts, etc., didst love me for that greatness, goodness, etc., in which I appear to thee. When thou wouldst see a man making derision of holy things and deeds of idolatry or rejecting (the

poor) and shutting his door, then thou wouldst sit singing the Gathas and worshipping the good Waters and Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and rejoicing the faithful that would come from near or from afar.

It is a beautiful fancy this of the impersonated conscience; but it resembles our own mediæval legends, often so beautiful in their imagination and so misleading in their consequences. We see in the above the fine beautiful thought, the connecting link between the religion of Spitama and the Turanian worship of the Magi, whose baneful influence is found more clearly declared in one of the later Gathas, written evidently after the Master's death, which also reminds us of the assumption of the Christian priesthood subsequent to the Apostolic age. "Zarathustra," it says, "assigned in times of yore, as a reward, to the Magavas Paradise; where first of all Mazda Himself was gone. You, immortal saints, have in your hands, through your good and true mind, those two powers, Ameretât and Haurvatât (two of the seven Archangels), to obtain everlasting life." The word Magavas, says Haug, is the original form of Magi; and Spitama has his successors, as well as S. Peter, assuming powers unknown to their first teacher.

The country known as Medea before the invasion of the Iranian Medes about the eighth century B. C. was inhabited by descendants of the same Turanian race, from whom the Assyrians, as before stated, copied the most valuable of their literature; and under the Achæmenian dynasty the mass of the people spoke their old Turanian tongue and retained their Turanian religion. So that there unquestionably existed under that dynasty two religions, that of the pure monotheism of the Persian princes and that taught by the Magi, a Median priestly tribe of the conquered Turanian race. There is no evidence that the early Achæmenian kings believed in dualism, or knew of Angrd Mainyu, subsequently called Ahriman and Aharman; and Herodotus in his account of the Persian religion leaves Ahriman unnoticed. Darmesteter says that the ideas and customs which are found in the Avesta were already in existence under the Achæmenian kings; but they were not the general ideas and customs of the whole of Persia, only of the sacerdotal order. The most important practice of the Avesta, namely, of not burying corpses in the earth, was either unknown or disregarded by that royal family. M. Darmesteter thinks that so far as the Avesta and Vedic religions are concerned there is

no abyss of a schism between them; the difference arising simply from gradual development, both being linked to their common source. He says, —

Nowhere in the Avesta is the effect of any man felt who standing against the belief of his people enforces upon them a new creed by the ascendancy of his genius, and turns their thoughts from the bed wherein it had flowed for centuries. There was no religious revolution; there was only a long and slow movement which led by insensible degrees the vague and unconscious dualism of the Indo-Iranian religion onwards to the sharply defined dualism of the Magi. That Zoroaster raised a new religion against the Vedic religion and cast down into hell the gods of olden days can no longer be maintained, since the gods, the ideas, and the worship of Mazdeism are shown to emanate directly from the old religion and have no more of a reaction against it than Zend has against Sanscrit.

If the Vendidad and Yashts be taken as alone expounding Mazdeism, excluding altogether the Gathas, the above might be admitted. But even then there would be found a vein running through the Persian belief that could not be traced to any Indian source. The Mazdeism of the Vendidad is compounded of Indo and Turanian beliefs and practices, and yet having within it another creed separate and distinct from those other two. That the name *Ahura*, in *Ahura Mazda*, is equivalent to the Indo-Iranian *Asura*, the concrete of which was *Varuna*, οἰπαρὺς, proves nothing more than that the Persian was an Indo-Iranian race, or at least a race acquainted with the Indo-Iranians. *Mazda*, which has been compared with the Vedic *Medhās*, *i. e.*, the Wise, proves the same. As Haug says, those *Ahura* who were regarded as creative powers might have been called by the name *Mazdās* already by the fire priests, the *Soshyantos*, prior to the teaching of Spitama; but they had no clear conception of the nature and working of this creative power, or of any self-existing Being whose supremacy was beyond comparison with any other. The great change is not simply in the name. We apply the name of god equally to *Jehovah*, *Zeus*, or *Jupiter*, because we have no other word to express it, and yet no one would say that we mean the same attributes when we apply it to the two last as when we speak of the LORD GOD.

The Mazdeism of Spitama has but one GOD attended by His angels, some of whom may bear names that in India signified deities; and the later Zoroastrians did deify them, as the Ro-

mish Church have attributed mediatorial power to the Virgin and Apostles. But not so in the writings of Spitama and of the Christian Apostles. Serosh in the early Gathas is simply the first archangel, and is called the friend of Ahura Mazda. In the Gatha Ustavaiti he is called "the man who may lead us to Paradise and show us the right paths of happiness, both in the earthly life and in the spiritual life where Thy spirit dwells, — the living, the faithful, the generous, the holy, Mazda!" as the highest archangel is called Gabriel, *the man of God*. As presiding over the sacrifices in the later Zoroastrian writings, he may resemble the Vedic god Agii, displaying his triple form as fire on earth, as lightning in the air, as the Sun in heaven, although one in essence; but nowhere in the Gathas is he addressed as in the Vedic hymn, as "a mighty god, a lord, giver of life and immortality," or as one of a triad of gods in any way equal with Ahura Mazda. Fire in the Gathas is called the son of Ahura Mazda, and, as in the Vedas, is supposed to be spread everywhere as the cause of life, but in the Gathas is spoken of only as a means of Ahura Mazda, by which He strengthens every good thing. Sir Henry Rawlinson is of the opinion that fire-worship, the permanent and principal rite of Mazdeism, was borrowed from the ancient Turanian religion, and was unknown to the primitive system of Zoroaster Spitama. M. Lenormant* says he was at first opposed to this idea, thinking of the importance of the worship of Agii amongst the Vedas, but confesses that he has been shaken in his opinion considering the part played by the god Fire and his worship in the primitive Accadian religion, whilst the Gathas contain nothing similar to the worship of Agii in the Vedic hymns.

Serosh in his office of mediator resembles much more the Accadian Silik-mulu-khi, or the Indian Mithra who was introduced by Artaxerxes-Memnon into the Persian public worship in conjunction with the Babylonian goddess Anahita.

Silik-mulu-khi, whose name means "he who distributes good amongst men," is thus invoked in one of the Accadian hymns: — "Thou art he who gives life; thou art he who saves, the merciful one amongst the gods, the regenerator who bringest back the dead to life. . . . Curest the plague, the fever, the ulcer, the phantom, the spectre, the vampire, incubus, succubus, the

* Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 198.

nightmare, the bad plague, the painful fever, the bad malady, he who causes evil, he who produces evil, the wicked sorcery." And in the xi. Yast is invoked as "the fiend-smiting Serosh," who "takes away the friendship of the fiend and fiends, of the he-fiend and of the she-fiend;" who "turns away in giddiness their eyes, minds, ears, hands, feet, mouths, and tongues; as good prayer, without deceit and without harm, is courage and turns away the Drug. The holy Sraosha, the best protector of the poor, is fiend-smiting, and turns away the Drug."

As Serosh found his prototype in Silik-mulu-khi, so there can be no question but that the Fravirshis, the Guardian Spirits, were also of Turanian origin; every being, not even excepting Ahura Mazda Himself, having his individual guardian spirit, a second self, as the Turanians gave to each individual a separate deity whose sole care was his welfare and protection.

Unhappily for us but few of the Zoroastrian writings, antedating the Christian era, remain to us; and even these consist almost solely of liturgies. There is, therefore some ground for Bünsen's criticism of the Zend writings as "wretched things." But it would be equally unjust to judge of the Mosaic writings by *Leviticus* as to judge of the teachings of Spitama by the Vendidad and the Yasts, or of those of his later followers by the Pahlavi Shayast La-Shayast and the Sad Dar. The priestly power was a greater object with their custodians than the sublime spiritual precepts of Spitama. We have before shown how early that was inculcated; and it is even more emphatically repeated in the Sad Dar.

It is necessary to maintain the religion by rule, and to practise obedience to the commands of the high priests; and every duty that people perform they should perform by their authority. For it is declared in the good religion that if they accomplish as many good works as the leaves of the trees or the sand-grains of the desert or the drops of rain, which they do not perform by command of the high priests or to their satisfaction, no merit whatever attains to their souls, and for the good works they have done they obtain sin as a recompense.

There must have been some far higher thought than is found in the Vendidad or any of the above named liturgies to have given such prolonged life to the spiritual followers of Spitama; for when the old Turanian nature worship, under a more spiritual form, again arose in the same countries under the name of Manichæism, the Zoroastrians resisted it more firmly than their

Christian neighbors. How far the early Christian teachers and writers may have had an unacknowledged influence on the Zoroastrians themselves it is not within our present limits to inquire; but the early and ever-important questions of the contest between good and evil, and when it commenced, and when it will end, never slept with the Zoroastrians. The Pahlavi writings, subsequent to the beginning of our era, are more akin to the early Gathas than to the Vendidad. In the Bundahis Ahura Mazda, or Auharmazd as He is there called, has no beginning or end and no limit to his power or knowledge. Aharman, as the evil spirit is called in the Bundahis, exists solely by his sufferance for a limited time of 3,000 years of contest, after which he and his legions must be annihilated. No reason is given for his existence; he is no fallen angel from his first estate; he has no study of revenge when he first rises from the abyss, nor thought of what more may be gained in heaven or what more lost in hell. He never cries, "evil be thou my good;" he knows naught of good, but is purely evil, if such can be. He rises from the dark abyss unconscious of the very existence of Ahura Mazda or even of light, and it was only after he then saw its glory that he "fled back to the gloomy darkness and formed many demons and fiends." To that time he had dwelt alone, as Ahura Mazda Himself had; and his demons and fiends are his own creations, as the heavenly hosts are the creations of Ahura Mazda. Peace on submission is offered to Aharman but scornfully rejected.

I will not depart, I will not provide assistance for thy creatures, I will not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I will destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I will force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.

When told of the ultimate victory of Auharmazd his body shrunk from fear, he fell upon his knees and became confounded and impotent for evil for 3,000 years; during which time the archangels and the material creation are produced by Ahura Mazda. At the end of that period the contest which is to last for a period of 3,000 years commenced; and, as in *Paradise Lost*, the several hosts are then assembled and the advice of each arch-fiend is tendered.

Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous

man, was not able to lift up his head until the wicked Geh came. And she shouted to the evil spirit, 'Rise up, thou father of us! for I will cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Auharmazd and the archangels will arise.'

When Geh twice recounted her evil deeds Aharman was delighted, and started up from his confusion and kissed her; and asked her, "'What is thy wish? so that I may give it thee.' And Geh shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give it me.' The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to Geh, and that brought the thoughts of Geh to him." It cannot be supposed that the Bundahis was ever known to Milton, but this meeting of Aharman and his daughter Geh, with the birth or creation of the man-child, is singularly like that of Satan with his daughter at hell's gate in *Paradise Lost*, book II. 745-765.

Aharman, thenceforth in perfect confidence with his infernal hosts, rose up from the abyss and "stood upon one third of the inside of the sky, and he sprang like a snake out of the sky down to the earth," where for 3,000 years the contest is to rage; at the end of which time he and his confederate demons will be annihilated and mankind will then be entirely restored to purity and bliss.

The Bundahis "creation of the beginning" corresponds among the Parsis to the Book of *Genesis* with us. Mr. E. W. West, the editor of the Pahlavi *Texts* in the Sacred Books of the East, thinks that we have in it either a translation or an epitome of the Damdad Nask, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian Scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. The earliest Pahlavi writing commences with the inscriptions on rocks and coins of the founder of the Sassanian dynasty 226-240 A. D., and it closes with certain religious writings, the latest of which is dated A. D. 881.

It must always remain an open question whether the Bundahis is a translation of a Zend writing of the date of Darius Hystaspes. If it is, it exhibits a very striking contrast to the Vendidad, and in some respects is more akin to the Gathas. But the Gathas are the earliest aspirations of a soul longing and earnestly praying for the revelation of God, and declaring, like Job, that come what may it will still trust in Him; while the Bundahis was evidently written when there was an acknowl-

edged Zoroastrian literature, to which it seems to refer without naming any author as of unquestioned authority. Its account of the creation of the world bears a Jewish stamp, and Jewish contact has somewhat colored the earlier Zoroastrian creed as the sojourn in Babylonia introduced into the later Jewish literature the belief in the possession of devils. We cannot think that Zoroastrianism is one of the earliest creeds of Asia ; but was at first a protest against the polytheism of the Indo-Iranians, and afterwards became corrupted by the Turanian polytheism, from which it was subsequently somewhat rescued after the beginning of the Christian era. To understand the teaching of Spítama better we must study the Brahmanical writings ; which, however, we must now leave for future consideration.

JOHN DUNLOP.

THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION, ZANZIBAR.

THE readers of the CHURCH REVIEW are doubtless familiar with the early history of "The Universities' Mission in Central Africa," and the disasters which followed the first attempts to establish the mission in the valley of the Shirè, resulting in the death of the heroic Bishop Mackenzie almost before he had entered upon his labors. His successor, Bishop Tozer, did not think it expedient, after a careful survey of the ground, to make any further attempt to occupy the Shirè highlands, but to leave that part of the country altogether, and seek some other basis for the mission.

Following the example of the Apostles, who first preached the Gospel in the great centres of the then known world, Bishop Tozer, in 1864, fixed upon Zanzibar as the most promising point from which to reach the interior.

No one who has followed the fortunes of the mission from that date can doubt the wisdom of his choice. Zanzibar is the capital of Eastern Africa, and the great centre of trade for the whole coast, over which its Sultan, Burgash, holds sway, as indeed he does far into the interior. Again, the language of Zanzibar — the Swahili — is the official trade language, everywhere more or less understood by the tribes on the mainland.

The island of Zanzibar, and its capital city Unjuga, having thus been chosen as the centre of missionary operations, a few words regarding both will not be out of place. The island of Zanzibar lies five hundred miles to the north of the Zambesi River, up which Dr. Livingstone led the first ill-fated missionary expedition under Bishop Mackenzie. It is 48.25 geographical miles long in a north and south direction, and twenty-one miles broad in its widest part. Through it runs the sixth parallel of south latitude. As the highest elevations are only about five hundred feet above the sea level, its appearance, from the deck of the incoming steamer, is of a graceful, wavy outline of soft, rounded ground, the surface of ochre-colored soil, thickly

clothed with the foliage of the dome-shaped mango tree and the stately cocoa-nut palm.

The island is separated from the mainland by a curved channel ninety-five miles in length, and of an average width of twenty miles, thickly studded on either side with coral reefs, which narrow the available clear passage to four miles in two places, and renders navigation a matter of difficulty.

The capital, known to foreigners as Zanzibar, but called Unjuga by the natives, is built at the widest part of the island on a triangular spit of sand which projects to the westward. To the southeast is a salt water inlet or lagoon, dry at low water, but which at high tide nearly converts the town into an island, and is only cut off from the sea at the southwest by a low coral and sandy ridge. This lagoon is crossed by a stone bridge, which connects the main town with its suburb on the eastern side.

Seaward, the city shows a long front of square houses, all of them whitewashed and giving to the town from a distance a much more imposing appearance than a closer inspection warrants. Most of these houses are public buildings: the palace of the Sultan, Seyed Burgash, the telegraph station, post-office, and the buildings belonging to the various consulates. They are built of coral, dug up on the island at almost any point, a few feet beneath the surface, and forming by no means a good building material, but answering for the purpose very well in this climate. These houses form but the façade to the meaner habitations back of them, the homes of the common people. These latter are built of "mud and stud" filled in by stone and adobe, having no light except from the door, although divided into a number of small rooms. In the portion of the city given up to trade, although seldom elsewhere, these houses are arranged in something like order, leaving a narrow, often circuitous, lane between them of from six to nine feet in width. Many of the stores having thatched projecting roofs over the doors, but little space is left for the pedestrian in the centre of the pathway. There are no streets wide enough for a carriage to pass, except in two directions from the Sultan's palace, made for his convenience in reaching the open country. There are but few open spaces in the city; the largest is a square-walled inclosure, with a few round, tub-shaped towers, called the great market. Here, between nine and twelve in the forenoon,

oranges, cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane, bananas, sweet potatoes, and mangoes are offered for sale in great quantities.

The next largest open space was, when Bishop Tozer first arrived, the slave market, where from 2,500 to 3,000 slaves, brought from the interior, were every year offered for sale. On this spot now stands the church and mission house of the Central African Mission. The harbor of Zanzibar frequently contains more than a hundred large native vessels, or dhows, lying packed together like ships in a dock; five or six men-of-war belonging to the Sultan or foreign nations, and often eight or ten European ships taking in cargoes of cloves (the principal production of the island), gum-copal and ivory, orchilla-weed, coconut oil, rubber or other productions of the island or of the mainland. The trade with the United States in ivory, copal, and cloves, in exchange for cottons, kerosene, and other merchandise, is about equal to one half the entire foreign trade of the port, not including that with India. In 1884 two American firms had orders for 12,000 pounds of ivory every month, but were unable to fill them. There are indications, however, of another sort of commerce, to be seen in the harbor. Anchored off the town has lain for many years *H. M. S. London*, an old eighty-four gun frigate, sent here by the British government not only to serve as a supply ship to her fleets in these waters, but also to enforce her treaty against the slave trade. As we passed by her, a few days before Christmas, 1883, we saw anchored under her guns one of her latest captures, — a native dhow, swarming with half-naked negroes; and before we left the port she had already been condemned, the slaves removed, and a gang of natives, under the direction of an officer, were unloading her other cargo in front of the British Consulate. When the missionaries first came to Zanzibar the slave trade was in full activity. The slave dealers had to pay a tax of two dollars to the Sultan for every one they brought in for sale. Very often they tried to smuggle them through without payment, and sometimes the Sultan caught them. On one occasion he seized five boys, and as he thought it would please the Bishop, he sent them to him as a present. The boys were terribly frightened, for the slave dealers had told them that the English were cannibals, and they thought they were to be killed and eaten at once.

This was the beginning of the mission schools in Zanzibar.

Now one of those boys is a clergyman, at work among his own people on the mainland, while another, who came afterwards, is a Christian teacher in a heathen town 1,200 miles in the interior. When Sir Bartle Frere's treaty, signed on the 20th of January, 1873, abolished the slave-trade, the missionaries found work at once at hand. All their energies were required for simply doing the duty of the English nation to those it had set free.

But for a time the work seemed to linger. Owing to a long illness of Bishop Tozer's and the weakness of the missionary staff, he could accomplish but little, and at last was obliged to resign his charge. He was followed by the Rev. Dr. Steere, who soon became the head of the mission and its third Bishop. Still it was the day of small things, and Bishop Steere found only two missionaries at Zanzibar when he arrived. But the state of the mission from that time has been one of almost unceasing progress.

One of the first difficulties to overcome was the language. The Bishop was not content to do what so many missionaries are obliged to do — to put up with a trade jargon — which might make the great truths he wished to impress seem ridiculous; but he set himself to study the language in all its true power, and was not discouraged when told it was very imperfect, and that it would be utterly impossible to express what was wished through its means; nor was he content to improve it, and give it new forms and words, but wisely thought the best thing was to ascertain, first of all, what the language really was. Going into the market-place with his note-book, he engaged the natives in conversation, noting down the words spoken, gradually forming a vocabulary, and by industry and patience forming out of the spoken Swahili, a written language sufficient to meet all his wants.

Bishop Steere died at his post in August, 1882. In the history of the Church, as well as of the world, there have always been men who stood out as leaders of their fellow men. Among missionaries Bishop Steere will ever be remembered as a great leader. Richly endowed with many gifts, but especially with literary power and artistic taste, he consecrated these gifts to his master's service. In his great work, the translating the Holy Scriptures and the Prayer Book into Swahili, he has raised up a lasting memorial to the glory of God, which will bring

countless blessings to generations yet unborn of all the races of Central Africa. To the whole coast has been given the beginnings of a new literature, with its grammar, dictionary, and hand-book; as great a boon to the merchant, trader, and naval officer as to the missionary. The first great step, therefore, had been taken, before the Bishop's death, for the evangelisation of the land. But this was not all. Actual progress had been made. The Bishop had purchased the old slave market for the mission, and turned it into something entirely different from its original purpose. On its site, he had built a noble stone church, beautiful in design and appointments, in which daily services were held, while the townspeople came in crowds to join in the prayers of the Church in their own language, and listen to the teachings of the missionaries. Hard by he had built his mission house, also of stone. Here was a home for himself, and his city staff; school-rooms for the younger scholars, as well as for the children of the townspeople; a dispensary, and a nursery for infants. Four miles from town, he had established a mission farm, with its settlement of freed slaves, its girls' school and infant school; while nearer the city, at Kiungani, was located his flourishing boys' school with workshops, and a printing office. It is easy to see how all these agencies were necessary for the successful carrying on of the work.

When a slave cargo was taken, the consul sent the whole number, from the infant in arms to the full-aged man or woman, to the mission house in town. The infants and smaller children received here the needed care, at the hands of the "house-mother" and her assistants. The older boys were sent to Kiungani, and put in charge of older scholars, whose duty it was to teach them their new mode of life. The adults were sent to the mission farm at Mbweni. I am afraid the boys rescued from slavery did not always appreciate, at first, what was being done for them. If they had continued slaves, they would indeed have had to labor during the day; but their nights would have been free for dances and pleasures of a like sort, as of old. But when they were put under strict discipline, and told they must get up, or go to work when the signal was given on the bell, or when they were set to the still harder task of learning to read and write, is it to be wondered at if they regarded their condition even worse than that at first? It would not take them long, however, to see the real and great difference be-

tween slavery and freedom. Then, those who showed ability were selected as teachers in the school; later appointed readers and taught to take their part in the services of the chapel, or to address their brethren; then sent out from the centre of tuition to teach in some up-country station; and at last, having been well tried in character, admitted to Holy Orders.

But, taken out of the lower classes of heathen society, many boys would have neither the ability nor the character to become teachers or to receive Holy Orders. For these, Bishop Steere organised an industrial school under the charge of English workmen, where the boys could be taught various useful trades.

A carpenter shop was organised, where all the furniture needed in the mission during the past few years has been made, as well as much work done for outside parties. A printing-press, with all the accessories of a first-class printing-office and book-bindery, was procured, and to-day the mission owns the only printing-press in the country, and, besides printing and binding its own Swahili literature and the translations of the Old and New Testament, does an increasing amount of business for the merchants of Zanzibar, and even the Sultan himself. The amount earned by the school at Kiungani in 1880 showed a clear profit of \$165. The *menu* and music programmes for the banquet given by the Sultan on the occasion of our visit * were printed at this office. As already said, the adults rescued from the slave dhows are sent at once to the farm at Mbweni. There is here a large plantation of cocoa-nut trees, in the care of which they find employment, as well as in numerous other industries. The mission owns also a traction engine, driven by one of the old slave boys, who takes entire charge of it. In 1880 the Sultan entered into a contract with the mission to build a road for him with it, nine miles long, to one of his houses in the country, at a cost of \$500 per mile. The engine is also used to saw wood and grind corn, as well as for many other purposes. Road-making, quarrying stone, the burning of lime, the making of brick, and the cultivation of the soil affords employment for all who care to labor. No one is forced to work, but if a man wants a day's work, he comes to the 6 A. M. service. After it he receives a ticket, and gets his wages on producing the ticket at five in the evening. Most of the people, I was told, worked every day, or at least five days a week. The lowest paid for a

* United States Flagship Brooklyn.

day's work is ten pice — about seven cents. Houses are provided the new-comers, as well as a plot of ground, and by kind treatment they are induced to listen to the message the missionaries offer. The people come from innumerable different tribes, families, and districts, but almost always some one is found to communicate with them *in their own tongue*. The services at the church in Zanzibar, as well as at the school in Kiungani, are very hearty indeed. In the city the Sunday morning service is in Swahili, and choral throughout, as is also the English service at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The choir of men and boys vested in red cassocks and white cottas, led by one of the clergy, who plays the fine organ, renders the service in a way that would do credit to any cathedral.

Bishop Steere steadily set his face against any attempt to denationalise the African race in their own land. For this purpose he taught them in their *own* language; dressed his school-boys in the native dress; allowed them none but their accustomed food, and required them to eat it without the aid of knife or fork in the native manner, in order to raise up a race of people who would not feel that they were strangers among their brethren; a ministry — if ministers they became — who would be able to exist upon the common food of the country, so that those to whom they might be sent would be able to maintain them. At present the mission has about thirty-four Europeans connected with it, as well as a large force of emancipated slaves, and one or two native clergy. Not only are they upholding the cross in Zanzibar, but the staff is visible throughout the whole of Eastern and Central Africa. There are some ten stations on the mainland; some of them formed by leading back, to their own land, the natives Christianised in the schools at Zanzibar; others among heathen tribes, as far back in the interior as the great Lake Nyassa. None of the European missionaries receive any salary. Their work is for God and humanity, without hope or expectation of earthly reward.

Bishop Steere recognised the true relations between missions and the civil power in Africa. He held that a missionary had no right to go with arms in his hand, and force his way through a country where he is expressly forbidden to enter. Into such a country he ought to go perchance, but only with words and deeds of peace, ready to give up his own life for the faith, but under no circumstances to take the lives of others. His first

object should be to make his converts good subjects of the state to which they belong. Too many missionaries aim at forming independent communities. S. Paul taught the slaves he converted to serve their masters, especially bad ones, better than they had ever been served before.

There have been modern missionaries, on the other hand, who have opened refuges for runaway slaves, and put arms into their hands *to shoot their old masters with*. Missionaries, he held, ought to form a church : instead, they often do form a statelet. Forming a church, they have indeed only the power to censure and to expel from Communion ; but this involves any kind of punishment which will be borne willingly to *escape* expulsion. In this way it is possible to punish offences against Christian law by fines and stripes if need be. The offender can always leave if he likes.

Our words are open to great misconstruction when we say of the heathen, that "their crimes are not our crimes, their view of right not our view, their laws not ours." Of course, in the sense that Christianity forbids many things which heathen laws allow, this is true ; in the main, however, it is inexact. All modern European law is based upon the law of heathen Rome, and heathen African laws are, in their great features, identical with English law. Many of the refinements of the common English law are regarded as a matter of course in an African village. One of the first duties of the missionary, therefore, is to teach his converts to obey and respect the laws of their country, so far as they do not contravene the laws of God. It is not the part of Christianity to interfere with polygamy or slavery except by showing to the heathen a more excellent way ; and it is not necessary for a second wife that she should be divorced, or for a slave that he should be set free before she or he is baptised ; in either case, as a Christian, she or he will be bound to perform whatever the law of the country declares to be a duty with more exactness than before.

That there is in Central Africa such a thing as a "No man's land" is an error which needs everywhere to be strenuously denied. Every inch of land in Africa is subject to law, and to law which has the same substantial principles with European law, only that it recognises a number of social customs which are very un-European, and some of them very wrong. These social customs the missionary must fight against ; but one great

reason why mission converts of the nominal sort are so often turned out from the mission churches and schools is that they feel themselves freed from native law, without really being under the power of the Gospel and Christianity.

Bishop Steere held that the missionary ought to build up a native state by supplying the great essential, so often wanted where Christianity is not, of a body of sober, God-fearing citizens. Missionaries, he says, ought to be absolutely forbidden to hold land except under some native authority, or to take the law into their own hand in any case of theft, or murder, or fraud, or violence. The law of all Africa clearly forbids all these things, and punishes them in a way which native opinion supports. It often happens, however, that a European blunders into the midst of a state of things of which he knows, as nearly as possible, nothing at all; and having set all law and order, as the natives know them, at defiance, complains that his goods are pilfered, and that he can get no redress. You are likely to get scant justice anywhere if you begin by insulting the judge, still more if you take the law into your own hands, and happen to flog the wrong man.

I cannot but attribute the success of the Universities' Mission to the recognition of these principles, as well as to the fact that the work has ever been conducted on Churchly lines by thoroughly educated — university bred — men, of the deepest devotion and self-consecration to the work. The successor of the lamented Bishop Steere, Dr. Smithies, consecrated in 1883, reached Zanzibar in the early part of the following year, bringing with him new helpers, and on his own part earnest zeal. From the banks of the river Shirè to the shores of Nyassa, in the palm groves of Umba, and from the magnificent church in the old slave market at Zanzibar, daily prayers ascend to God for him and for his work. May we not, too, add our voices in these supplications! that "he may both perceive and know what things he ought to do, and also have grace and power faithfully to fulfill the same."

ALFRED LEE ROYCE.

MARRIAGE: THE TABLE OF KINDRED AND AFFINITY.

THE Marriage question is one of burning interest to us now, because of the legislation impending in the coming General Convention upon "the impediments to the contract thereof, the manner of its solemnisation, and the conditions of its dissolution."¹ We propose in the present paper to discuss only the first of these three branches of the subject, while touching incidentally perhaps upon the second and third. The function of a Review is to give briefly and clearly, and if possible so as to awaken interest and impress the memory, information and arguments scattered too widely, or in volumes too bulky and expensive, to reach the general reader. In conformity with this aim we are going to attempt to re-awaken respect for the old law embodied in the Table of Kindred and Affinity. It will perhaps surprise some persons to hear us say that this Table is one of the most important safeguards of the whole Social Institution of Marriage. We hope that no one will turn from our pages hastily when he reads further that it is our firm conviction that neither the Table nor Marriage itself can be protected from indefinite degradation if the injunction be removed which prohibits a man from marrying the sister of his deceased wife. The abundant discussion which this point has now received leaves no excuse for any person longer to treat it unintelligently. If any man or woman respects the Institution of Marriage, if they think it involves the welfare of society; if any human being believes that a religion has been revealed by God to man, and that this religion says anything of the relation that binds together husband and wife, let them not flippantly discard facts and principles whose removal will undermine religion itself, and not less certainly corrupt society to its heart's core than convert the strong bond of Marriage into a rope of sand. To speak more explicitly: let American Churchmen and Christians,

¹ Committee on Canons, 1883.

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in the present stage of the discussion, be ashamed to say any longer that the prohibition of the deceased wife's sister is merely English legislation; that it rests on the decree of a Church Convocation; that the Table of Kindred and Affinity became law only by the Canon of 1604; that Queen Elizabeth is responsible for it; that Lord Lyndhurst's Act destroyed the principle; that finally, it is a novel and arbitrary invasion of Christian liberty, unwarranted by Scripture, and not plainly sanctioned by reason. Every one of these allegations, except, perhaps, the very last, we believe it is easy to show to be categorically false, and some of them to be even ludicrously the reverse of true.

We beg our readers, while considering the proofs we shall submit to them, to remove from their minds, if they can, every prejudice arising from the consideration of individual cases, remembering that every law most essential to government and to society is of necessity enforced oftentimes at the expense of individual suffering and great self-sacrifice. No reflecting and intelligent person will deny that a right and noble conception of Marriage is of first importance in the laws of every State, and that everything that can give it honor and security, and protect its purity, is worthy of a statesman's fostering care. On the other hand, every candid student of history will have to admit that no pagan state ever devised any adequate protection of Marriage; that in the most intelligent communities of the ancient world, in Greece and Rome, the Institution exhibits an invariably downward tendency to degradation and dissolution, — ending, as in Greece, in the enthronisation of the harlot, and, as at Rome, in the reign of Augustus, in the legalisation of concubinage. If the Almighty ever made a real disclosure of religion to His creatures, as every true Christian must believe, it was certainly worthy of the Divine Mercy to reveal to man a rule for his guidance in this most important relation of his earthly life, the foundation of society, the image, in its ideal perfection, of Heaven. Is there such a rule, having the revealed sanction of Almighty God? We believe that there is. And in establishing this all-important fact we feel confident that we shall be supplying the best answer, not for the thoughtful and religious alone, but for all good citizens and lovers of their kind, to the petty and casual objections against the details of the great Law explaining and guarding Marriage.

It will, perhaps, be most useful to consider, first, what Scripture says of Marriage, then the light which Jewish and Christian authorities throw upon its defensive and protective legislation, and lastly, the condition of the law in England and in the United States. In strictness what are called "impediments" to the contracting of marriage should be viewed as the defences of its integrity, the detection of the poison whose injection into a healthy body is the precursor of death.

It has often been pointed out how the narrative at the beginning of Scripture, of the creation of woman not from the ground, nor from other creatures, who could furnish no companion for man, but out of the very frame of Adam, is a most significant suggestion of the equality of the sexes. This equality condemns not only the pagan degradation of woman into a slave, but also, by anticipation, that misinterpretation of the Levitical law we are about to consider, founded on the imagined inferiority of the woman to the man. Adam, speaking by Divine inspiration, says of his helpmeet: "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Therefore (adds the law-giver) shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh."* Not even the most careless reader of Scripture can fail to notice how the first and last phrases of this remarkable passage recur throughout the sacred pages. The equality between Laban and Jacob, between Abimelech, Jerubbaal's son, and his mother's brethren, between David and the tribes of Israel, is expressed by saying that they are bone of each other's bone and flesh of each other's flesh. Finally, the condescension of the Son of God, in the completed work of His Incarnation, is thus wonderfully pictured by the Apostle's repetition of the phrase: "For we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones."† The phrase "and they shall be one flesh," so emphatically reiterated by our LORD,—"wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh: what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder,"—and twice renewed by S. Paul, is originally the climax of the statement, "therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife." The Church in the prophetic Psalm is pictured as a king's daughter, who neverthe-

* *Genesis* ii. 23, 24.

† *Genesis* xxix. 14. *Judges* ix. 2. 2 *Samuel* v. 1; xxx. 13. *Ephesians* v. 30.

less with her Heavenly Spouse "forgets her own people and her father's house." "He that loveth his wife," S. Paul declares, "loveth himself." * The intimacy of the union between husband and wife expressed by the language "they shall be one flesh" is therefore shown first by its blotting out the strongest of other natural ties, that of father and mother, and next by its being able to symbolise the ineffable spiritual union of His members with CHRIST, by which are extinguished even the distinctions of Jew and Gentile, bond and free, male and female.† The less finds a higher fulfilment and a nobler significance in the greater. No thoughtful person, accepting the Scripture account, can fail to perceive the Sacramental element in Marriage. The mysterious union, cemented by Divine rites, the beginning of life natural and spiritual, the cradle of law for the Family and the State, the consummation of Eden's bliss, and of its participation of the Tree of Life, this surely had as intimate relation as any Sacrament with the formation of the soul and body of human beings. It was at once the care and the instrument of the Divine Spirit, whose breath is the inmost and highest life of souls.

Now what is the effect upon the great Institution of Marriage of the restrictive legislation in *Leviticus* xviii. ? We are warned in its very opening clauses that the transgressions against which it is aimed cannot be transgressions only for the Jew, because their commission has brought down the heaviest judgments, the decree of destruction, upon Egyptian and Canaanite. The principle of this legislation is plainly announced in verse 6: "None of you shall approach to any *that is near of kin to him*" — where the expression, "near of kin to him," literally rendered in the margin, "remainder of his flesh," seems evidently to refer to the "flesh of my flesh," in the original enactment, *Genesis* ii. 23. There can be no doubt whatever that the "near of kin" include both the relationships of consanguinity and of affinity, since, for instance, the father's brother's wife and the mother's brother's wife are forbidden as plainly as the father's sister and the mother's sister. It is very obvious, besides, that typical examples of prohibition are mentioned, leaving others to be supplied by inevitable analogy, and what law-

* *S. Matthew* xix. 5. *S. Mark* x. 7. *1 Corinthians* vi. 16. *Ephesians* v. 31, 28. *Psalms* xlv. 10.

† *Galatians* iii. 28.

yers call *paritas rationis*. No sound interpreter will maintain that because out of the 30 cases forbidden in the Table only 15 relatives are distinctly stated in *Leviticus* xviii. and xx., and because all these are such as "a man may not marry," therefore *no woman* is forbidden to contract any marriage whatever. It is no recommendation of this monstrous absurdity that individual fanatics for sexual inequality have been found to defend it among both Jews and Christians, because no extravagance is impossible to individual theorists. Not a whit less monstrous is the paradox that no cases must be understood as prohibited unless they are expressly mentioned. One example out of many forever settles the principle here involved. A man is not expressly forbidden to marry his own daughter; this is simply inferred from the prohibition [*Leviticus* xviii. 7] of a son to marry his mother. Yet every one feels that the law is just as certain in the one case as in the other. Now the prohibition to marry the sister of a deceased wife stands on precisely the same ground. In *Leviticus* xviii. 16 a man is simply forbidden to marry his brother's wife. "Albeit," says Bishop Jewel, "I be not forbidden by plain words *to marry my wife's sister*, yet am I forbidden so to do by other words, which by exposition are plain enough. For when GOD commands me I shall not marry my brother's wife, it follows directly by the same, that He forbids me to marry my wife's sister. For between one man and two sisters, and one woman and two brothers, is like *analogy* or proportion, which is my judgment in this case." The Bishop confirms this, among other illustrations, by this: "When GOD commands that no man shall marry the wife of his uncle by his father's side [*Leviticus* xviii. 14], we doubt not but in the same is included the wife of the uncle by the mother's side. Thus you see GOD Himself would have us expound one degree by another." This seems a clearly reasonable and unmistakable exposition. The only plausible scruple ever raised concerning it is based upon the language of *Leviticus* xviii. 18: "Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her lifetime." Now first it should be observed that the learned translators of the Authorised Version attached in the margin to the words of this text, "*a wife to her sister*," the alternative rendering, as fairly conveying the sense of the Hebrew, "*one wife to another*:"—evidently meaning that the text should be understood to forbid polygamy. And

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there is very little doubt that this is the true sense of the text, for this most weighty reason among others: that it supplies, what otherwise we should sorely lack, an express prohibition of the depravation at once most dangerous and most common, of the sacred Institution of Marriage. If polygamy be no sin then is the breach of the Seventh Commandment an imaginary, and fornication, an impossible, offence. The sanctity of the wife, and along with it the reverence for parents, and the obligation of children, are mere figments of the imagination. The Seventh becomes at the utmost but an appendage to the Eighth Commandment.

We do not wish to give space here unseasonably to grammatical niceties, which have been obtruded too freely into this most serious discussion. But we venture to call attention to the Hebrew idiom in the original of the words translated "a wife unto her sister," or, as the margin has it, "one wife to another." Few persons know that in the text, *Exodus* xxvi. 3, subjoined in the margin, the words referring to the coupling of the five curtains of the tabernacle "one unto another" (which occur twice), אֶחָד אֶל אֶחָד, are in the Hebrew precisely the same, to a letter, as the words rendered "one wife to another." Fewer persons still are aware that this phrase, occurring 42 times in the Hebrew Bible, and used in the most general way not only of curtains but of the cherubim [*Exodus* xxv. 20], and in the sense of "one man to his fellow," or "one man to another man," never in a single instance refers to the blood-relationship of two brothers, or two sisters, unless this text, *Leviticus* xviii. 18, furnishes the solitary exception.* It is therefore violently improbable that this text should legalise the incestuous connection forbidden by so obvious an inference in the prohibition only two verses before. It is hardly necessary after this to dwell upon the unnatural sense forced upon the other clauses of verse 18 by the attempt to apply it to the sister by blood of the deceased wife. Shall we say that the true wife will not be vexed so long as her polygamous husband will take any other women for wives save her own sister? Or shall we admit that the sting is in all reason removed, if the wife knows that her husband cannot make this particular addition during her lifetime, but may immediately after her decease? This seems trifling not

* Bishop Wordsworth on *Leviticus* xviii. Rev. C. Forster, quoted by Bishop of Lincoln. Dwight's *Hebrew Wife*, pp. 84-91.

only with the gravity of Scripture, but with the seriousness of law.

We believe that the idiom just considered suggests the true answer to the objection derived from the case usually called "The Levirate Custom," *Deuteronomy* xxv. 5-10, and illustrated by the history of Ruth. This custom appears to have been known 300 years before [see *Genesis* xxxix.], and instead of *Deuteronomy* xxv. 5-10 being viewed as a revocation of *Leviticus* xviii. 16 it is reasonable to view the latter as a later revelation limiting the persons to whom the custom was applicable. The Hebrew word *אח*, rendered "brother," can certainly, without any violence to the language, by the testimony of all lexicographers, be also rendered "kinsman." It is most naturally and reasonably explained, in this custom, provided to prevent the extinction of families, as signifying one of the tribal community, or commune, whose unity and preservation were carefully guarded by the inspired law-giver. The terms *יבמה* (referring to the childless widow), and its correlative *אבם*, the *אח*, or *kinsman* of the deceased, imply of necessity no closer blood relationship. In the very next chapter [xix. 17] a verse occurs in which it is impossible to give to this word *אח*, brother, anything less than the most extended sense. It is well known how the corresponding Greek term *ἀδελφός* is constantly used in the same way. It should be remembered also, in confirmation of the interpretation now given, that the Mishna expressly treats near kindred, *i. e.*, real brothers, as not only exempt, but debarred, from the Levirate marriage. It should not be forgotten that the Septuagint, or Greek version of the Old Testament, 250 B. C., as represented in the Vatican MS., the oldest in existence, belonging doubtless to the early part of the fourth century, translates *Deuteronomy* xxvii. 23, "sister of his wife" (*ἀδελφὴς τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ*), not "mother in law," as in the English version. "*Chotheneth*," the corresponding Hebrew term, is by the consent of Hebrew scholars, like the Latin *affinis*, commonly used for a female relation by marriage, and may in this text with perfect propriety have the sense given it in the Vatican MS.

There can be little doubt from the case of Herod, whose sin was denounced by S. John the Baptist, that the offence was considered *incest*, not merely adultery. We have in fact the express testimony of Josephus to this effect. The case of

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Archelaus and Glaphyra (wife of his brother Alexander) was precisely parallel to that of Herod and Herodias. Alexander had been put to death by his father, Herod the Great. Archelaus, says Josephus, "transgressed the law of our fathers, and married Glaphyra, the daughter of the King of Cappadocia, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her; while it was *a thing detestable among the Jews to marry the brother's wife.*"* There is abundant proof that the prohibition of a man to marry two sisters was held, among the Jews, to be equally a part of the Divine law. Thus in the parable quoted by Dr. Lightfoot from the Talmud, when the cup of blessing is offered to Abraham, he replies, "I cannot bless it, because Ishmael came from me." And when Jacob's turn comes he says: "I cannot, *because I married two sisters, which the law forbids.*"† In the Mishna, among the cases of illegal marriage is placed the following: "A. and B. (two brothers or kinsmen) marry respectively M. and N. (two sisters). A. and N. die; then B., the survivor, cannot marry M., the survivor, *because she is the sister of one who was his former wife.*" The reason here given is the more notable, because at first sight it seems to be the case forbidden by the very words of the text *Leviticus* xviii. 16. Maimonides, the distinguished Spanish Rabbi of the XII. century, by some admiring Jews styled a second Moses, expressly says that "the marriage of a man with his wife's sister and that of a woman with her husband's brother are parallel or *analogous cases*, and forbidden on the same ground, viz., *nearness of relationship*;" at the same time he finds a reason for the prohibitions of *Leviticus* xviii. generally (including these cases), in the fact that the persons forbidden are such as are liable to be much thrown together by family intercourse, and to live under the same roof as blood relatives.‡ There is no doubt whatever that the law of the whole Christian Church, East and West, for 1,500 years, was that expressed in the Table put forth (in Latin and English) by Archbishop Parker in 1563, by no means as a new law, but simply as a convenient summary of what had been recognised not in England alone, but in Europe from time immemorial, alike by the Common, the Civil, and the Canon law.

* *Antiquities*, xvii. 13.

† *On the Temple Service.*

‡ *More Nevochim*, c. xxiv. p. 318 (precepts of the XIVth class). Translation of Dr. Townley, 1827.

It may not be useless to recall a few points of the abundant evidence that puts this beyond question. Canon 54 of what is known as the Council in Trullo [A. D. 694] fixes to this day the rule of the Eastern Church. This rule is explained with great clearness and fulness in a celebrated letter of S. Basil the Great [329-379] written more than three centuries before: "Our custom, in this matter," says S. Basil, *has the force of law*, because the statutes we observe have been handed down to us by holy men: and our judgment is this, that if a man has fallen into the sin of marrying two sisters, we do not regard such a union as marriage, nor do we receive the parties into communion with the Church, until they are separated."* S. Basil strongly defends the principle that the wife's kin become "one flesh" with the husband and that "the rights of kindred are common on both sides." Bede (iv. 1) tells us that Theodore, a learned Greek of Tarsus, who became Archbishop of Canterbury A. D. 668, clearly asserted the same principle. The XIX. of the Apostolical Canons declares: "One who marries two sisters, or his niece, cannot become a cleric." These were not simply speculations and wishes of divines and theologians, as is shown by the decisive fact that this prohibition was embodied in the Roman law by a decree of the Emperor Constantine in the year 355. With regard to the West, Dr. Pusey distinguishes these successive stages in the legislation on this subject: "Until the beginning of the VI. century all marriages forbidden in Holy Scripture, whether expressly or by implication, and those only, were absolutely forbidden by the Church, and *held to be incestuous*:" among these was included marriage with a wife's sister. "Until the end of the XI. century, during which other marriages were forbidden by ecclesiastical law; but in case of newly converted individuals or nations, the ecclesiastical law was not enforced. Until the end of the XV. century, during which the Eastern Church retained its rule unchanged, in the West the degrees prohibited were limited by the Fourth Lateran Council, and individual dispensations, *within the degrees strictly ecclesiastical*, were allowed; those forbidden in Holy Scripture were held to be Divine and indispensable."† "During the whole of the first eight centuries," says the learned

* Ephesus, 160, Canon lxxxvii. is here quoted. The whole letter is translated in No. xi. of the *Marriage Law Defence Tracts*.

† Evidence before the Commission on the Law of Marriage, Oxford, 1849.

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writer on "Prohibited Degrees," in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, "marriages were never allowed, either by civil or canon law, in the first degree, *whether of consanguinity or affinity*. . . . The first degree of affinity comprises the step-mother, the wife's mother, the son's wife, *the wife's sister*, the brother's wife." * Among the celebrated documents connected with the history of this law is the letter of Gregory the Great to S. Augustine, the British missionary, often quoted afterwards, *e. g.*, by Egbert, Archbishop of York, A. D. 740, and in the Canons of 950, and in the Ordinances of the Witan at Enham A. D. 1009, one of which says: "Never let it be that a Christian marry . . . *one nearly related to the wife he formerly had.*" With the development of the Papal power arose the portentous question, Could the Pope dispense with the degrees expressly forbidden in Scripture? About the middle of the XV. century † the French Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., applied to Pope Eugenius IV. for such a dispensation, and was refused on the express ground that it was beyond the power of the Holy See to grant. The first example of this unlawful dispensation occurs in A. D. 1500, when Pope Alexander VI., a Borgia of evil fame, granted a dispensation to marry a wife's sister to Emmanuel, King of Portugal, as he allowed another sovereign to marry his own aunt. There is very little doubt that the Tridentine canon ‡ anathematizing those who denied the power of the Church to dispense with the degrees of both consanguinity and affinity, mentioned in *Leviticus*, was passed with a view to cover these very cases. A memorable retribution overtook the Roman See for this invasion of the Divine law. It lost the kingdom of England, while arbitrarily refusing to exercise for its monarch the dispensing power it had suicidally claimed, and which Trent afterward sanctioned. It is curious also to observe how Henry VIII. himself fell under the condemnation of the Divine law, of which he undertook to be the especial champion, when loudly asserting the illegality of his marriage with his brother's wife. It is now well known that Anne Boleyn was repudiated and divorced on the ground of the very same law through which she had supplanted Katharine. Cardinal Pole had reminded the King that his

* Smith and Cheetham, vol. ii. pp. 1728, 1729.

† The case of Pope Martin V. and the Count of Foix, A. D. 1427, is confused by the conflicting evidence.

‡ *Conc. Trid. Sess. xxiv. can. 3.*

union with Anne was debarred by his previous illicit connection with her sister Mary, and accordingly Henry endeavored, in the dispensation which he vainly sought, "Not only to dissolve his marriage with Katharine, but also to remove any canonical impediments arising from affinity contracted *ex illicito coitu*." * We need not say that this fact invalidated the title to the Crown of Queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne, because she was queen by the deliberate will of the Parliament and nation: but the fact does enable us to put a proper estimate upon the ignorant recklessness of the assertion which ascribes to the Queen, for interested motives, and to Archbishop Parker, the composition of the Table of Kindred and Affinity put forth in 1563. The principle of this table, *i. e.*, to forbid simply what God's law forbids, and almost every case enumerated is in fact contained in an Act of Parliament passed in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII. [1533, cap. 22], in which after naming a man's "wife's daughter's daughter, or his wife's sister," the Act continues: "which marriages, albeit *they be plainly prohibited and detested by the laws of God*, yet nevertheless at some times they have proceeded under colors of dispensations by man's power, which is but usurped, and of right ought not to be granted, admitted, nor allowed." Here we have the decree of Trent condemned by anticipation. It should, however, be distinctly stated that the highest Roman Catholic authority in England, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, has, with reference to the late agitation in England, put forth this clear declaration:—

1. The law of the Catholic Church forbids and annuls the marriage with a deceased wife's sister. 2. The law of England on this point is, to this moment, Catholic, and supports the discipline of the Church.

There are two matters on which something should be said before leaving the declarations of Scripture and History on this subject. We refer to the counter allegations that have been made as to the meaning of the Sacred Text and as to the origin of the Church's law. There is a book of *Opinions of Hebrew and Greek Professors of European Universities*, put forth by the Marriage Law Reform Association, which we cannot but think, like certain representations of history shortly to be noticed, as

* *Church Review*, vol. xix. p. 375, etc., which quotes Lingard and Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*.

skilfully calculated, in fact, if not by design, for the misinformation of Protestants.

With regard to this volume the first thing to be said is that its contents do not correspond to its title, which professes to be on "the Scriptural aspect of the question regarding the legalisation of marriage with a deceased wife's sister." But in fact the Hebrew professors are asked only to answer the question, "Whether such marriages are or are not prohibited in the Mosaic writings?" So that instead of the "Scriptural aspect" of the question, their view is expressly limited to the Pentateuch. The view of the Greek professors is still more narrowly restricted. They are asked simply, "Whether there is anything in the original text of *Ephesians* v. 31, from which it can be reasonably inferred that all the relations of a wife become by her marriage, and so remain after her death, one flesh with the husband?" This is certainly a very perverse method of seeking the true meaning of so large a volume as Holy Scripture. On considering the answers to these questions we find the usual diversities that inevitably attend private interpretation, and still the result on the whole cannot be fairly said to have weakened the Scriptural argument against marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Twenty-nine of the 48 opinions limit themselves to the consideration of *Leviticus* xviii. 18, and give no opinion on the Levitical law as a whole, while some of the professors of greatest weight for character and learning intimate that the Christian law is in their judgment different from what could be gathered solely out of *Leviticus* or *Ephesians* v. 31. All the Greek professors limit their view to this last text. Of the few who consider the law as a whole, as many maintain the old Christian view as agree explicitly in any other interpretation.*

We do not hesitate to urge upon our Protestant brethren, who believe that the Bible contains a Divine Revelation, the proof which this instance affords with singular clearness of the futility of their favorite method of seeking for the meaning of the Holy Volume, by private interpretation, in neglect and contempt of the authority of the Catholic Church. Here is a rule of Marriage, a subject of the very first importance, to States and to the moral life of souls, derived from Scripture as a whole, sanctioned by the highest Jewish authorities, witnessed by the

* See the admirable tract of Dr. Candlish, Glasgow Professor, No. xxv. of the Marriage Law Defence publications.

entire Christian Church with singular unanimity. If the Almighty has revealed to man His will in this matter, His revelation is certainly expressed in this rule. It is passing strange how any really religious men can have been deluded into joining those whose self-will alone prompts them to break through this rule, and to find comfort in the sophistical glosses of Holy Writ, put forth by individuals in whose eyes "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so." There is no certainty for any dogmatic truth of revealed Religion, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, Sacramental Grace, or any form of Spiritual Help, greater than Scripture with the testimony of the Church gives to this most important practical truth, that Holy Matrimony is a sacred and mysterious union of one man with one woman, blessed by God, the channel of spiritual as well as temporal gifts, protected from profanation alike on the side of polygamy and on the side of incest; and that the union with a deceased wife's sister is as abominable before the Divine Law as the union with a sister by blood.

We must notice, in the second place, how the Protestant imagination has been abused by impudent falsifications of history, some of them put forth, we regret to say, by the self-styled Marriage Reform Association, in the vain effort to defend the perversions of Holy Writ. A tract entitled *A Few Facts*, lately published by this Association, starts out with the assertion that the Roman Catholic hierarchy desires to abolish this restriction. This assertion Cardinal Manning has just summarily contradicted, adding that he trusts "all Catholics in either House of Parliament will vote firmly and always against such a change in the statute law." The same tract writer affirms that the prohibition to marry a deceased wife's sister "had never been heard of in the Christian Church till the fourth century." This is true in the same sense as that the sin of incest mentioned by S. Paul to the Corinthians was not named even among Pagans, *i. e.*, because even unassisted nature abhorred it. So Christians were not accustomed to add prohibitions of things certainly forbidden by the Divine Law. The writer of the tract proceeds to make the audacious assertion that "the prohibition to marry the sister of a deceased wife owes its origin to the doctrine that all second marriages, of whatever kind, exclude from the kingdom of heaven." To this it is sufficient to reply that this unrestricted rejection of second marriages is a heresy of the Mon-

tanists and Novatians, and was plainly condemned by the Church in the eighth Canon of the Ecumenical Council of Nice. The tract we have been quoting contains also the following curious sentence: "The same Council which first prohibited marriage with the sister of a deceased wife was also the first to prohibit the marriage of the clergy." This is a very adroit instance of both the *suggestio falsi* and of the attempt to set by the ears two parties who are agreed upon a given subject, by introducing another subject on which they are not agreed. The local Synod of Elvira, to which the writer apparently refers, did not forbid the marriage of the clergy, but attempted to enforce concerning it a matter of discipline. The Ecumenical Council of Nice, however, twenty years later, expressly refused to ratify this legislation. As a matter of fact it is perfectly well known that clerical celibacy was not enforced in the West till long after this period. In the East, on the other hand, where the prohibition of marriage of a deceased wife's sister, as S. Basil has informed us, prevailed from the beginning, the marriage of the clergy is practised to this day.

The unscrupulous writer we have been quoting, and we are sorry to say that too many who may have been deceived by his assurance have also caught his reckless spirit, summarises his peculiar view of history by saying that "such restrictions multiplied with varying severity (dispensations being always allowed) down to the period of the Reformation, when for the first time statute law, in the matter of marriage, was substituted for canon law." Now it was a recognised principle of the period of dispensations that these applied only to ecclesiastical restrictions, the cases of cousins, sponsors, etc., but not till the very dawn of the Reformation, as in the instances of Popes Martin and Alexander, already mentioned, was the claim hazarded that even the Papal power could dispense with the cases mentioned in the Divine Law, including the case of the deceased wife's sister. The Council of Trent in attempting to defend this claim manifestly hesitates, and hedges it about with the plea of necessity. Zealous Protestants should be reminded that in endeavoring to tear down the time-honored restriction, represented by the Table of Kindred and Affinity, they are really joining hands with the Popes of most unsavory memory, and treacherously betraying the most important practical principle involved in the whole contest of the Reformation.

First let it be distinctly understood that there is really neither novelty nor ambiguity in the principle by which the prohibition of the sister of the wife clearly and certainly follows from the prohibition to the wife of her husband's brother in *Leviticus* xviii. 16. This principle was as clearly understood and stated by S. Basil and S. Ambrose in the early Church as by any later canonist; it is recognised under the name of analogy, or *paritas rationis*, by all law, common or civil, canonical or statute. The two American Bishops (no English Bishops we are glad to say are of their mind) who six years ago were not afraid to say to General Convention that "relations are so largely stated in the Book of *Leviticus* that they believe that all is said that was intended, and that an inference of further inhibition is inadmissible,"* and to apply this to the inevitable correlative of *Leviticus* xviii. 16, — these Bishops are reproved by the superior Catholicity and orthodoxy of Calvin's teaching, and that of the Presbyterian Westminster Confession of Faith, which says:—

Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity forbidden in the Word. . . . The man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own, nor the woman of her husband's kindred nearer in blood than her own.†

We hope some one has asked the two Bishops, before this, whether a man may not marry his grandmother, or his own daughter?—relations no more certainly included in the Levitical prohibitions than that of deceased wife's sister.

It is certain that if this restriction of the Table be broken down, other infractions of the law will follow, as they have followed in Germany and in France, and as an English member of the House of Peers openly avowed his anticipation. The result can be viewed by no Christian man without the most serious concern. We hope the American Church will bear a testimony in the matter, either by restoring the Table to its place in Bibles and Prayer Books, or in some other way that cannot be mistaken. It is not likely that any more honorable or useful legislation will ever be in its power.

There is no better proof either of wisdom or love in the governing power than the management by wise restrictions of the passions of the governed. They who attain great heights of usefulness or virtue do it through self-denial, the restraint of

* Bishops Clark and Howe, in the Minority Report of 1880.

† Chap. xxiv. sec. 4.

passion, whether at first received from an external authority, or voluntarily adopted. There is nothing more merciful to the young and generous and ardent, in whom feeling is strong and reason is immature, than the firm enforcement of such restrictions. Both individuals and nations with thankfulness recognise the wisdom of them when they reach the maturity of their powers. The Divine Law concerning Marriage, both its original monogamic conception and its subsequent particular restrictions as to relationship, is the most striking example afforded either by Religion or by human history of the importance of governing human passion in this matter of prime consequence by a definite rule. There is no tendency in man to impose such a rule upon himself. The tendency of human beings in all ages has been downward when left to themselves in this business. The Christian home, the brightest spot under the broad heavens, is the product simply of the prevalence of the Divine Law, revealed and enforced in the kingdom of God upon earth. If that Law be removed the abominations of Paganism will flow back like a flood. And in logic Religion must perish with this social revolution. There is no point of doctrine, as we have already said, that has a more certain, consistent, and universal testimony than the Church's interpretation of the Scripture law of marriage. This law is then part of Revelation, if anything is. We believe that for its intrinsic importance *it deserves to be*, as truly as any abstract point of belief. If it be abandoned, on what ground shall we defend anything whatever that remains? Can we point to any article of the Faith whose Scripture proof has not been disputed? Has the Church any truth in sure possession? Is popular impulse any surer guide than individual speculation? Has the Almighty made a Revelation, and yet its meaning is unknown, or utterly uncertain? These are serious questions, not less for private Christians than for the rulers of the Church.

GEORGE W. DEAN.

Book Reviews.

Microcosmus: An Essay concerning Man and his Relation to the World. By HERMANN LOTZE. Translated from the German by ELIZABETH HAMILTON and E. E. CONSTANCE JONES. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1885.

WHEN I was requested by the editor of the CHURCH REVIEW to write a review of this translation of Lotze's *Microcosmus*, my mind naturally went back to the time when, during my stay at the University of Bonn, I was first advised to read the book by my private tutor. That was in 1875. I had asked Professor Krafft, to whom I brought letters of introduction, to recommend to me a good tutor in metaphysics and ethics. The professor, with his habitual kindness, made me acquainted with the very man I wanted, — a typical young German philosopher, who, though only just ready to take his degree, seemed to have mastered the whole literature of the Greek and German metaphysics. At that time the *Microcosmus* had been published but a little while, and was seldom spoken of even in Germany; so that it is a good proof of my tutor's prescience that he should have hit upon this as the very best work wherewith I could attack the general field of modern German ethics and metaphysics. Since then the *Microcosmus*, being a popular rather than an academic treatise, has had a wide circulation both in and out of Germany, and the present admirable English version is but a natural consequence of the book's intrinsic merits. Indeed, both from the clearness and brilliancy of his style and the tone and bias of his thinking, Lotze is in close affinity with the general cast of the Anglo-Saxon mind. He is not overcome by the German craze for creating a system of philosophy; he carefully eschews an arbitrary phraseology; and in the *Microcosmus* he insists on suspending judgment as to his final metaphysical conclusions until he has first carried the reader through an exhaustive survey of the entire field of the human being's life.

I make no higher claim for my book, he says, than this, that it may present to the reader the coherent results of long reflection which have grown dear to me, with the candor that every one ought to use in communicating his best thoughts in any earnest converse, so that moments of leisure may be exalted to moments of mental concentration, the effects of which will not pass away. This living personal relation to the mind of the reader, if I should succeed in establishing it, would be worth more to me than the happiness of seeing a place in the development of philosophy accorded to the philosophic view of which I am now about to summarise the outlines. For nowadays all of us certainly doubt the convincingness of a faith, accepted not so long ago, according to which the very essence of cosmic history was to be found in the progress of philosophy, and in every change of speculative systems the dawn of a new phase in the life of the Unconditioned Cause of the universe. And even if we had no reason for such doubt, the consideration whether any philosophic theory which one had to propound fitted into the rhythm of an evolutionary history already begun, — whether it were not late or premature, or altogether out of course and to be banished from the regular succession of systems, — these and all other similar questions of etiquette would seem to me unimportant in comparison of the serious doubt whether that which I wished to communicate would be capable of comforting or relieving or refreshing any oppressed soul, by clearing up some obscurity, by solving some doubt, or by revealing some fresh point of view.* Not in playing at development, but in such services from one living man to another, is to be found the worth even of those speculations which are concerned about the highest truths.

The above extract furnishes a fair sample both of the style and the temper of the author; and from it the reader will quickly perceive that, while fully alive to the mechanism and the scientific aspects of human life, Lotze is disposed to insist on a spiritual reading of the phenomena of *the Microcosm of Man*. Before making further comment on the volumes before us, it may be well to give some account of the author.

Of the life of Rudolph Hermann Lotze but few details are accessible. He was born May 21, 1817, at Bautzen, in Saxony. In 1838, at Leipzig, he took a double degree as Doctor both in Medicine and in Philosophy; and in 1839 he qualified in both these faculties as a *Privat Docent*, — or private university lecturer. At the same University, in 1842, he was appointed Profes-

* See Book ix. ch. i.

sor *Extraordinarius* of Philosophy; and thence, in 1844, he was called to Göttingen, as *Professor Ordinarius*. Toward the close of his life, which ended recently, he was called in the same capacity to the University of Berlin. His earliest printed works were a *Metaphysic* (1841) and *Logic* (1843); but the genius of the author were hardly recognised until after the publication of his books on the *Physiology of Life* (1851) and of the *Soul* (1852). It is a significant fact that while as originally a student of Medicine he became thoroughly imbued with the data, the methods, and the views of physical science, it was nevertheless, as he informs us, a strong inclination to poetry and art that first brought him to philosophy; and we have traces of this tendency in his *History of Æsthetics in Germany*. To this original bias is doubtless to be attributed, in some measure, the main standpoint of the *Microcosmus* — the conviction, viz., that the scientific conceptions of human life are never ultimate, but rather that these spring from, and lead back to, realities which cannot be represented in mathematico-physical forms. In Lotze's view Mechanism is indeed universal, but it is secondary and subordinate to the spiritual life. The understanding itself can but give the form, not the content of human existence. The very process of knowing is but a part of that which takes place and is known. The thought which is occupied with being has underlying it the same relations as being itself; so that mere *thinking* is not the sum-total of what we really *know*, and "our thinking merely combines with each other in formal relations the ideas that designate the subject-matter of our experience, whether in the form of sensation, of feeling, or otherwise." There is something deeper, richer, more spontaneous and secure than logic; it is aspiration and life;* and the final key to the harmony between the knowing subject and the known existence is only to be had in the perfect end of things, and in the Divine Being who proposed that end, — the Personal being whom "faith calls GOD." Hence the æsthetic, the ethical, and the religious aspects of man's activity are closer to his being than his understanding is; and truth is common property; and no estimate of man's life is really rational which does not subordinate the scientific aspects of it to the ethical and the religious. Science has put new and wider meanings into the perennial questions of the criticism of life; but so far

* Cf. Canon Scott Holland's Sermon on *Logic and Life*.

from displacing or exploding the older meanings, science has affirmed and exalted them.

Keeping these principles firmly in view, Lotze, in the *Microcosmus*, makes

An attempt at an anthropology which should seek to investigate and ascertain the entire significance of human existence from the combined consideration of the phenomena of individual life and of the history of the civilization of our race.

He says in his general Introduction : —

It is not the comprehensive cosmos of the whole great universe that we shall here attempt to describe — in imitation of the example set before us Germans — even in that circumscribed sense of the task which we have above indicated. The more deeply the features of that great world-picture impress the general consciousness, the more vividly will they point us back to ourselves, and stir up anew the question, What significance have man, and human life with its constant phenomena, and the changing course of history, in the great whole of Nature, to the steady influence of which the results of modern science have made us feel more than ever in subjection? In seeking to bring together the reflections on these points which press themselves upon the thoughtful soul not only within the limits of any philosophic school, but everywhere in life, we — with the changed points of view to which the present age has attained — attempt here a repetition of the undertaking of which we have so brilliant an example in Herder's *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*.

In this inquiry the author treats of the body, soul, and spirit of man ; of physiology and psychology ; of ethnology and sociology ; of the philosophy of history ; of materialism and spiritualism ; of the general problems of knowledge ; and so at last of the deepest questions of ethics and metaphysics. It is by reason of this wide range of view that the book is so excellent an introduction to the particular study of Ethics and Metaphysics proper. The method of the treatise precludes that "shortness of thought" against which Bishop Butler entered his protest in the *Analogy*. The reader is compelled to suspend his judgment ; to look at the subject now from one standpoint, now from another ; to find much which at first had appeared to him as beyond doubt suddenly treated as uncertain ; and in like manner to have much, which from a previous point of view appeared to be false, represented later on as at least likely. This method of investigation arises partly from the singular balance

of Lotze's mind, and his genuine desire for truth ; partly from his determination to be consistent to his function as philosopher, and not to go beyond the limits of mere reason even in matters which cannot be adequately expounded unless they be likewise treated from the standpoint of revealed religion and theology. Notwithstanding, Lotze is very far from barren rationalism, and avows, in passing, his adherence to Christianity. He makes constant reference to the inextinguishable demands of man's religious sense. In his Introduction he says expressly :—

If the object of all human investigation were but to produce in cognition a reflection of the world as it exists, of what value would be all its labor and pains, which could result only in vain repetition, in an imitation within the soul of that which exists without it ? What significance could there be in this barren rehearsal — what should oblige thinking minds to be mere mirrors of that which does not think, — unless the discovery of truth were in all cases likewise the production of some good, valuable enough to justify the pains expended in attaining it ? The individual, ensnared by that division of intellectual labor that inevitably results from the widening compass of knowledge, may at times forget the connection of his narrow sphere of work with the great ends of human life ; it may at times seem to him as though the furtherance of knowledge for the sake of knowledge were an intelligible and worthy aim of human effort. But all his endeavors have in the last resort but this one meaning, that they, in connection with those of countless others, should combine to trace an image of the world from which we may learn what we have to reverence as the true significance of existence, what we have to do, and what to hope. Taking truth as a whole, we are not justified in regarding it as a mere self-centred splendor, having no necessary connection with those stirrings of the soul from which, indeed, the impulse to seek it first proceeded. On the contrary, whenever any scientific revolution has driven out old modes of thought, the new views that take their place must justify themselves by the permanent or increasing satisfaction which they are capable of affording to those spiritual demands which cannot be put off or ignored.

This idea of Value is the key to Lotze's position as a metaphysician. And although the Catholic theologian must miss from Lotze's conclusions several elements and aspects of established truth which Catholic Christianity as represented by the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed contains, nevertheless the great value of the *Microcosmus* to the Catholic thinker is to be

found in the fact that at so many points there is in this book substantial agreement with his own conclusions and quite independent support of his own arguments. It must be admitted, however, that the chapter on the Religious Life contains disparaging allusion to Dogmatic Theology which are singularly inconsistent with Lotze's general position as a most dogmatic metaphysician.

Perhaps mention should be made of the leading positions of Lotze's philosophic speculation. Besides the modification of Leibnitz's theory of Monads, the following are some of the author's chief theories :— that not only inorganic but organic life is throughout a mechanism ; although the investigation of this mechanism, while necessary to philosophy, is but a subordinate part of it, inasmuch as the principle of Determinism is *ipso facto* included in the other and higher principle of Freedom, so that the accusation of Dualism is groundless : that there is no such thing, properly speaking, as Vital Force, whereas the hypothesis of an immaterial Soul is indispensable to the idea of Organic Life : that Immortality is not a necessary attribute of all souls, as such, but only in so far as they have realized in themselves such a degree of goodness that they are of value to the whole to which they belong : that Humanity is an unreal abstraction, and hence that the State is not an end in itself, and such terms as Education and Progress are meaningless except in so far as individual men continue to exist in conscious relation to the generations past and future : that the relation of two beings to each other is not between but in them, since each being suffers the influence of the other ; and hence that interaction (or more correctly, inter-passion) is possible only between beings that are aware of such action or passion, so that existence can only be predicated of conscious spirits ; from which it follows that Matter and Force are illusions, except when these terms are employed as symbols or abbreviations for certain configurations in the sphere of phenomena : that perfect Self-Consciousness, or Existence-for-Self, does not necessarily imply the existence of a Non-Ego ; for the Non-Ego must bear, as its very mark, conditioned self-consciousness ; whereas unconditional self-consciousness, or pure Selfhood, belongs to essence of Godhead, in Whom alone perfect Personality is to be found ; thus it is not only possible that God should be the Creator, but

finite beings, by virtue of their finiteness, are necessarily imperfect personalities.

It would be an interesting study to set forth and criticise each of these special theories; but for this we have no space. It must suffice, in conclusion, to dwell for a moment on Lotze's view that, while Science is based on Metaphysics, Metaphysics itself depends on Ethics. This view is certainly in harmony with the whole teaching of JESUS CHRIST. Lotze's position is that Metaphysics is the Science not merely of Knowing, but of Knowing and Being, and so soon as you get to Being you get to Ethics. Nay, the bare idea of Knowing implies Truth to be known, and Truth is an ethical idea. The object of this argument is not exactly to prove either a logical or chronological distinction of priority between Metaphysics and Ethics. Rather the object is to assert, on the one hand, that in the average consciousness of mankind the ethical aspect of truth is more evidently imperative than the metaphysical aspect of truth; while on the other hand Metaphysics corroborates Ethics by supplying a rational defence for ethical axioms, and thereby making atheism not simply *wicked* but *absurd*.

It has been said by some critics of the *Microcosmus* that inasmuch as the author's avowed purpose is to reconcile Science and Religion, his book is a failure; for all that the book accomplishes is to show that Science and Religion need not quarrel, whereas the thing demanded was that the author should propound some proposition, or some method of thought, which would remove all opportunity of such quarrel. But to say this is at once to miss the author's purpose and the point at issue. The objection that modern scientists of the agnostic school bring against religion is, not that its dogmas are necessarily false, but that they are not proved; and by proof these objectors mean scientific proof—proof by physical experiment, by physical analogy, and by mathematico-physical calculation. But Lotze turns the tables on the agnostics by showing with ruthless logic that they demand for religion what they have not got even for science: that the first principles and premises of science, so far from being capable of physical demonstration, are distinctly metaphysical, and must be referred for their certitude to that phase of man's being where reason deals also with truth in its ethical and religious rather than its scientific aspect, if we are to use the term science in its modern sense. So far, then, from

religion being dependent on science, science itself depends on religion.

Science, with its sharply defined notions and its solid fabric of method, forgets that its own fundamental elements — the ideas of force and natural laws — are not the ultimate components of the threads that weave the texture of reality. On the contrary, when we exercise keener insight, they too lead us back to that same supersensuous region of which we cannot compass the boundaries.

Science is thus but one function of the true rational philosophy whose higher business is not phenomenal but absolute truth; even as it was in the reason's immediate conviction of truth, as absolute, that science itself began.

From this vantage ground Lotze advances to his final position that the basis of man's being is ethical: that the idea of Truth is vain except as subsumed in the idea of Right or Goodness. M. Amiel observes in his *Journal*, that "Duty has the virtue of making us feel the reality of a positive world, while at the same time detaching us from it." This remark of the lonely French thinker might well stand as a motto for the more genial thinking of the *Microcosmus*. For Lotze explains that the value of the formal understanding rests on something beyond it, — on something which it helps us to. The form must have a content. Mere reasoning, in the ordinary sense of the term as equivalent to intellectualism, makes no progress. What we call Truth, as simple matter of fact, has but a temporary and utilitarian value, which to the rational spirit is utterly inane. "Carbon compounds with Oxygen." "The central region of Africa is a vast plateau." "The moon has no atmosphere." "Man shares the nature of the brute." "The satisfaction of conscience is the only pleasure that never varies in value." Such are truths of fact. But enthusiasm for such facts is silly apart from certain ideal assumptions that are the axioms of ethics and religion. There is no significance in truths apart from the infinite and eternal Truth. But such Truth involves obligation; and hence this idea of truth is subsumed in the idea of the Good. Yet this idea of the Good compels us to pass on to the idea of God, — to Goodness as Personal Being. The ultimate and unanalysable idea of Right is not a mere form of thought: the form must have a content. "The lofty Ought" implies the I AM, for a man's motive is not the same as his end.* What he wishes to

* See Professor Francis L. Patton on *Contemporary English Ethics*, in the *New Princeton Review*, March, 1886.

do is not the same as why he wishes to do it. Along with the Rule defining conduct there must be the Ideal inspiring it. And if holy character or moral perfection be the end of man, the end is meaningless without the Perfect One whose Being makes the end. It is ethically impossible for the individual man to believe that he alone exists, or that he cherishes an ideal that is nowhere realised ; which would be the case if other beings like him were all that exist. It is therefore impossible to find in the existence of human beings alone any adequate end of human conduct ; and the only ethical alternative is GOD. Right might be obligatory, but it would be inoperative if there were no hereafter and no GOD in Whom man has now his being. Thus Truth and Right in the life of man are the revelation of the Personal Life above him, and man's finite personality points to GOD's perfect personality. All knowledge is metaphysical in the last resort, and Metaphysics depends on Ethics. Truth has Morality behind it, and behind them both is GOD.

There is no space to speak of the peculiar merits or the defects of this English version of the *Microcosmus*. Few of the German metaphysicians bear translation as well as Lotze, for few are so free from needless technicalities and arbitrary terms, and from the obscurity that arises from compression. Of course Lotze must be read in the original to appreciate the delicate shading of his thoughts, the aptness and the finish of his style ; but a comparison of this English version with that, say, of Schwegler's *History of Philosophy* will at once make plain to the German scholar how superior is the skill of the translators of the *Microcosmus*.

Finally, no one should study the *Microcosmus* without constantly referring to the recent translation of the *Dictate* of Professor Lotze's lectures at Göttingen, as edited by Professor Ladd of New Haven. In these the same line of thought is partially pursued, other important lines of thought are added ; and the whole is set forth more systematically, so far as it was compatible with Lotze's theory of teaching to adopt a system.

GEORGE WILLIAM DOUGLAS.

From Shakespeare to Pope: An Enquiry into the Causes and Phenomena of the Rise of Classical Poetry in England. By EDMUND GOSSE, Clarke Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Cambridge. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1886.

WE have here the substance of lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute in Boston, and repeated elsewhere in this country, and at the author's university in England. The main title — *From Shakespeare to Pope* — rather needs the book to explain it than gives us a clear idea of what is to be expected in the book: for the space is not great, and we might expect these two large figures to take up a good deal of it. In reading, we soon come upon the discovery that the author has nothing to do with either of the men to whom these names belong, except to use the two words as counters, or markers, *late quæ splendeant*. The sentence, or so, given to Shakespeare, and the half-sentence, or so, given to Pope, are their full shares in the author's plan, because neither of them had part in the movement whose rise the author is studying. There is plenty of entertainment and interest in the men who lived and wrote between these two; in the men who were of consequence enough to be required to take sides, and who accordingly took one side or the other, or took both sides, or (as sometimes) took each several times over. Beside their writing, they did a great many things, and much was done to them, worth reading of.

With these, and especially with Waller, who, for the author's purpose, is the chief of them — a base man in his nature, but extremely clever, and, all his life long, in the full sunlight, before men's eyes — Mr. Gosse has made his book pleasant. It is not made up of philosophical examination, or discussion, or comparison, or criticism. The estimating of literature is not of just the same sort as the analysing of spring-water, and is not, happily, required to account for the thousand parts in the thousand, to the last of them. Mr. Gosse, having made his definitions, and set forth his two classes, and given instances and examples, goes straight on to bring in so much of the personal element as to make what he writes more of a story than a treatise, or a disquisition.

He has read the English poets well and thoughtfully, and has

made for himself a definite opinion not only about the general and prevailing character of English poetry of different periods, but also about the several writers who made it, and about their power and work. He has travelled over into the literature of other lands than England, as Italy, France, Germany, and Holland, with a glance at Spain, to see what influence came in from them upon English writers. Being sure that any change in the general character of the poetry of one period is to be ascribed to certain causes, which can be traced out and fixed, he has undertaken to show what and why the changes were, and has done it in the way which we have described. The reader will thank him for his method. The name "phenomena," which he has brought into his second title, may cover all the personal element which adds so greatly to the interest of the book.

Of the two schools into which our author divides those who have written the poetry of England, "the classical" and "the romantic," in the same tongue, substantially, in which we write and speak, each, he says, has twice had the ascendancy. The classical had its turn first, and was dispossessed only in the time of "the Tudors," as Mr. Gosse says, in his English way; as if any of his Tudors had ever had imagination or fancy enough for so harmless if not pretty an amusement. The romantic rose then, and held its own until the Commonwealth came in, and then the classical came to the top again, and stayed there until the French Revolution. From that time to this the romantic has been in place and power.

Neither of these names is exact or technical; indeed, each is applied almost arbitrarily. The poetry which is thus called classical is that which, to a great degree, is written evenly in lines of ten syllables, with every two lines rhyming, and which, likewise, regularly makes a complete sense (very generally a complete sentence) in every such distich, or couplet. The romantic Mr. Gosse describes as being "more loose and elastic" — more free in its movement — and having what (from Mr. Austin Dobson) he calls "an overflow" of the sense — that is, an on-running of the sense through several, or many, lines — at any rate, through an indefinite number of lines — and not shutting it up in two.

When each of these, in turn, got the upper hand, it was in a revolt against the other, ending in revolution. In the one case — that of "the rise" which is handled in this book — the

change was made from disgust at the excesses into which the romantic school had gone in foppishness and silly phrases, and any folly which lively and clever wits could find out for themselves. In the other case, it was from weariness of the bondage enforced by the very strait rules of the classical.

The reader can easily think for himself how tiresome this narrow nicety might become, and Mr. Gosse gives instances of the almost impossible absurdities in which the other school allowed itself, such as will satisfy any one, most likely, that an utter change was needed. From *The Weeping of the Magdalene* he culls such stuff as this, addressed to the saint's eyes: "parents of silver-footed rills;" "heavens of ever-falling stars;" "heaven's spangles;" "nests of milky doves;" "two walking baths;" "portable and compendious oceans," and the like, through thirty-one stanzas. The worst of this was that it was what Crashawe had come to — Crashawe who wrote,

We saw Thee in thy balmy nest,
Bright dawn of our eternal day;
We saw thine eyes break from their east,
And chase the trembling shades away.
We saw Thee, and we blessed the sight;
We saw Thee by thine own sweet light.

ROBERT LOWELL.

Contemporary Literature.*

THERE are not wanting signs of a disposition to consider literature more seriously and respectfully among those who have their daily, weekly, or monthly say about books in the journals and periodicals of the country. The daily press has its incurable tendencies toward hasty consideration, perfunctoriness, cocksureness; toward a lop-sided benevolence or malevolence which gives us scolding censure or pasty praise as substitutes for criticism. But even the daily press has been very much in earnest for several years about the Realistic movement, for instance; and the critical pronouncements of the periodical press have, we should say, caught from some source a higher note. It begins to seem as if one of these days we should habitually consider literature from a fairly high mountain offering a wide view from its summit, instead of groping in a marsh to point out the aurtorial fire-flies to one another, finding nothing more illuminating or intelligible to say of this one than, "How bright!" or of that one "Very dull!" The practice of barrenly labelling literary performances or performers as Good, Bad, Indifferent — the use of the unsupported and unreasoned *ipse dixit* — is something from which we are on the road to recovery; and we shall grow less and less tolerant of dogmatic criticism, lacking standards and principles, and without an outlook above the range of personal tastes and impressions.

The enormous annual product of books in our time puts us under necessity to find for ourselves, if we can, some touchstone to guide us in the choice of our reading. This is a practical necessity; but the function of literary criticism goes somewhat beyond the mere indicating of what may with profit be read and what we shall be the better for leaving unread. It endeavors to show forth the aims of literature itself, to inquire

* The reviews appearing under this title are the work of specialists in their departments.

not only if a book is thus or so, but why it is thus or so, and whether, perchance, it would be better if it were neither thus nor so. A critic who would strive to exercise his office in the fear of such purposes must require a touchstone indeed ; and at least it is very certain that he could find little use for a yard-stick. THE CHURCH REVIEW, which enters with this issue upon a new era, in some sense, has a consciousness that such a time is the accepted season for promises ; and this would certainly be a capital point at which to rehearse an attractive prospectus for this department. But we are reluctant to convict of insufficiency the future of these informal conferences with our readers about current literature, by making professions of any sort.

We feel that we shall be advantaged in our enterprise by the increased frequency of issue of the REVIEW, for it will enable us to discuss the books of the day in the time of them. It is obviously not for us to disparage the arrangement under which periodicals are put forth quarterly. Associations precious of their kind endear us to at least one Quarterly we wot of ; and no reader whose years take him back to the day when the quarterly was the only form in periodical literature can be without the tradition of respect for the dignity which went with its stately and infrequent visits. Yet such a reader, if he is the reasonable being we imagine him, will perceive with us — parting the while with none of his sentiment for the quarterly — that the monthly has its advantages for our time ; and he will not be slow to see that the dignity, the high purpose, the maturity and deliberation of thought which give weight to the utterances of a periodical issued four times a year will not less surely inhere in the same utterances if put forth twelve times a year. He will enjoy his sentiment, but he will feel the truth of this ; and if, perchance, he does not, he will yet find a practical solace in the plan that the monthly, for which he has exchanged his justly beloved quarterly, more nearly meets the needs of these busy days in being more easily and quickly read, and in commenting upon the tendency of events and of current thought while they are still fresh.

We shall strive to avoid trying such matters as come under our notice by the yard-stick. That much may be fearlessly engaged. But for the touchstone we can only agree that it shall be like the talisman to the knights, in the fairy-tales, — the object of our endeavor. We believe the knights did not always

succeed in bringing back the talisman from their expeditions; but we seem to remember that the reader's good-will went with them, and that the attempt was at least always "imputed to them for righteousness."

I. FICTION.

We shall perhaps do well at the outset to curb in some degree the tendency toward high-and-mightiness which the critic is likely, with the best intentions, to find himself leaning toward, by considering a book which cannot be approached save with a kind of humility. It is Count Tolstoi's *Anna Karénina*.^{*} Many years have passed since we have had so big-minded a novel from any country. Russia, which has given us some great fiction, has not produced anything comparable to this work. Turgenieff's was a splendid mind, but it marched with the pessimists, and worked toward negative ends. His novels, so rich in life, so abundantly authentic, so deeply real, lacked the vivifying spirit. Count Tolstoi, on the contrary, though he may not be a thick and thin optimist, — a more desirable extreme than that represented by the pessimist, certainly, but still an extreme, — writes in a dominant tone of hopefulness; perhaps we should say militancy: an obstinately cheerful outlook, not blinking the disagreeable facts of life, but doggedly contesting their supremacy, and in the main victorious over them.

Count Tolstoi (in a very special way of his own, but in a way that errs rather on the side of severity than laxity) is a follower of CHRIST, and he writes the sort of novel one would expect from a Christian observer of life. We are told all kinds of things about the artist's mission in fiction, and about the inspiration which should guide him in realising for us the world about us. But it has not lately been urged upon the novel-writer that he should approach the rendering of this world from the standpoint of Faith. This cannot seem less or other than absurd to many of those engaged in making the admirable and charming fiction of our day. They would obviously say that this is only another way of asking the novelist to look at the life he is commissioned to represent through colored glass; and they would add that it would enforce the assumption of an attitude, and would make

^{*} *Anna Karénina*. By Count LEO TOLSTOI. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. 1886.

of the novelist something uncomfortably like an advocate. It would plainly be easy to argue from these considerations the antagonism of the Christian standpoint to art; and we suppose that many who do not write fiction would agree that to speak of a writer as a Christian artist would be to arrive at a contradiction in terms. It is true that the words thus coupled seem to have a certain repulsion for each other, the effect of association; but we feel assured it is only an apparent repulsion, and that no one can profoundly move the hearts of the world in any department of artistic effort whose art is not securely grounded upon the great moral basis of things. It is not only because the story of *Anna Karénina* is imagined in a supremely moral spirit, that we should make bold to call Count Tolstoi a Christian artist. It is because the morality of the novel looks Godward, and if that constitutes an attitude, it is the attitude of one who holds the only key to the problem of life. A writer who makes and registers his observations of life without this key — lacking the standpoint of faith which the modern novelist commonly holds, of so light account, is like one who should count and arrange the planets as so many points of light, in ignorance of the mighty plan which controls their orbits and watches over their voyages through space.

It will, perhaps, strike the reader as a little strange if it be said that though *Anna Karénina* is so finely moral it might very well be taken by a certain class of minds for an immoral tale, for it tells the story of a guilty passion. Its morality lies of course in the manner of treatment. There is not in recent fiction anything more thoroughly thought out, or more faithfully rendered, than the subtle and gradual processes by which the heroine loses herself in the abyss of sin. But if the work stopped here it would be only an extraordinarily interesting psychological study. It deals, however, with equally patient truth with her slow and awful punishment: the fatally sure, inward penalty which sin exacts from the heart which has given it birth. The book is unusually long for a novel, and though the history of *Anna* herself and of the two men whose lives she ruined makes the main thread of the narrative, and is told with the most expansive minuteness, there is space in the volume for the heart-stories of a number of other interdependent characters. The episode of *Levin's* love for *Kitty Scherbatskaïa* is charmingly told, and would of itself make a novel. *Levin* is, no doubt, justly sup-

posed to stand for the author; and his contests with the work-people on his estate, his struggle with his love, his relations with his brothers, above all his daily contests with himself about the thousand commonplace questions that arise in our breasts every hour of our lives — the decision of each of which makes for or against character — and the wonderfully pictured struggle toward faith in God and the future life which closes the story, would lift the book altogether out of the common if it had no other distinction. But it has a great distinction in its method, which may have been implied in some degree by what has been said, but should properly be mentioned foremost among its characteristics. We mean its profound and marvellous realisms touching life at every point, making the world of the book live before the reader's eyes with a reality almost superior to the world about us, giving significance to the slightest acts. The truth of it all is beyond praise, and though one may occasionally feel that a little could be spared, one perceives when the book is finished that everything — or almost everything — has had a purpose, and has gone more or less directly to enrich the extraordinarily rich and deep soil in which the teeming life of the book has its roots.

The fault with Count Tolstoi's realism is that it is not presided over by the genius of reserve. There is no artistic economy used. His wealth of material is such that he employs it with a reckless prodigality, as if he did not expect to write another novel and were striving to put all his documents of humanity into this. It certainly overloads the book, and will lose it friends (which it can well spare) in some quarters; but for our own part we must profess that whatever may be said of the excess of detail, as an artistic mistake, we cannot find it in our heart to wish any of this singularly truthful presentation of life away.

Count Tolstoi's method, with which the Realists of other countries must feel themselves allied by virtue of their earnest purpose to see and record things as they are, has one or two strong points of difference from the ways of writers otherwise in line with him. The most obvious of these is his preference for dealing with the great facts of life, with strong passions, with deep and moving tragedies. The commonplaceness of life is there, too, for background, and nowhere more faithfully and untiringly painted in; but the people are shown us engaged in the profound and absorbing struggle between the good and the

evil, the higher and the lower nature within themselves which makes, in the intimate privacy of our souls, the real meaning of life for each one of us. The novel of manners is very well of course, and we should be the last to deny its value; but set against the vital value of histories of the heart like *Anna Karénina*, it is difficult not to question the permanency of the satisfaction derivable from them.

In some fiction of the Realistic school there is a note of consciousness which strikes disagreeably upon the reader, and this is another point of divergence from the work of Count Tolstoi. There are few more individual novels than the one under discussion; but there is not one in which the author's shadow has less the effect of standing behind the reader as he turns the leaves making respectful inclinations of the head to himself in the mirror of the printed page. The story is unfolded, the people suffer and rejoice not only without the author's intervention, but without a suspicion on the reader's part that he has a hand in it: "Life," one can fancy him saying to himself, "is responsible; not I." Thackeray has been censured for assuming the part of critic and patron to his own play, and it is plainly superfluous for the showman to make a practice of coming before the curtain between the acts for the purpose of putting the audience into possession of his opinion about his actors; but we do not know that the occasional supervising stroll which the showmen of our own day take among their puppets, while the play is on, is less of an intrusion of the author's personality. The art of Count Tolstoi is singularly free from both these vices of manner; and his people work out their own salvation without any comment but the reader's, and without any more self-consciousness than we find in the trough whose office it is to carry water from a spring. The men who have really had something to say have always thought humbly of themselves as mediums through which the truth was appointed to reach the world: it is only the small minds which confound the relative importance of the truth and the medium.

Robert Louis Stevenson had done a great deal of extraordinarily good work before the clever psychological romance of *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde** appeared to turn the

* *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

eyes of American readers upon him. *Prince Otto*, for example, belongs to an earlier period than the *Strange Case*; but its publication in this country was not undertaken until the success of his latest volume enlarged the commercial value of his performances. For some time before Mr. Stevenson put forth his latest tale many observers of literature had begun to look upon his as quite the most original mind engaged in imaginative composition in England; and to them *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* was in the nature not of a surprise but of a confirmation of their hopes for his future. He had already shown his flavor in *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*, and the two series of *New Arabian Nights*, as well as in that delightful volume, *A Child's Garden of Verses*, and a group of books of travel. No one who read any of these works could fail to feel the presence of a singularly shrewd, acute, buoyant, fresh spirit behind them. The writer, it was evident, was in the first place an extremely close and ardent observer with an eye which unfailingly detected the characteristic in the objects engaging his observation, and a hand gifted with cunning to set it forth by the use of strokes broad and few. His style, however, was the charm which won the reader. It has been from the beginning one of the happiest instruments with which a writer has been blessed in our day, and in the present stage of its development we are at a loss to what to compare the lightness and swiftness of its movement, the richness and variety of its texture, the purity and yet the audacity of its method. It is nowhere so felicitous as in description or narration; but it is admirable everywhere. The literary quality enriches all to which Mr. Stevenson sets his hand, but it is not the literary quality distinguished by not being the quality of life. No one is more simple, direct, and natural than the author of *Prince Otto*, and in spite of the occasional use of archaisms and of familiar words in new and surprising ways, no one is farther from the fatuity of imagining the Muse of Literature as a young woman who goes about on a pair of stilts condescending to the transactions of the workaday world below her far enough to learn what they are not like and doing them over in that jargon by which alone we know that a composition is literary. The old magic which turns the seeming water of life into the wine of literature, and which all the masters have practised before him, he has, however, very completely at command.

Mr. Stevenson's natural *habitat* is in the realm of pure ro-

mance. Notwithstanding the power of keen observation which enables him to lay character bare down to its roots, he has no love for relating the people of his fancy too closely to the solid earth; and sometimes he suffers the reins to lie loose upon both character and situation, and the two are straightway caught up into the free ether of whimsey. If he were to paint heavy backgrounds for the creatures his imagination finds it pleasantest to create, they would constantly be given the lie by the every-day world. They are, therefore, wont to move in a somewhat rare and scanty atmosphere of their own; and even in *Prince Otto*, which flatters one for a while to expectation of something like a dense *milieu*, in the picture of the court of Grünewald, the personages transact the very pretty little drama of character which makes the story in the world of the book rather than in ours, and against a background washed in, of intent, with thin pigments. In *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* a very select company of characters is considered with the intense subjectiveness which is wont to throw pictures of life out of perspective; but Mr. Stevenson's consummate art reconciles one to a sphere in which there is no such thing as perspective, and consequently to one in which it cannot be missed. An artist must be allowed his own method; and if he is indeed an artist one will scarcely be conscious of making the allowance, for he will have harmonised all things to it. We do not think that Romance, even as Mr. Stevenson makes it, casts the most effective illumination upon the conduct of life. The *Strange Case* contains a deeper meaning than many a novel, but it does not reach us as the same meaning would reach us through the medium of the Novel, though it set it forth less brilliantly. We need not quarrel with Romance because it is on less intimate terms with "the children of the earth" than the homespun fiction of another sort, however, and at all events after reading *The Strange Case* the critic is tempted to call it delightful and leave it there.

The people, who decide these things for themselves, have been rendering during the past year or two some verdicts about imaginative literature which show how ready they remain, in spite of all the light that is offered them touching the supreme virtue of homely truth and reality, to be tickled by excursions into the region of the Never Was. It is certainly curious and instructive to recall the fact that three works of fiction which

have won the widest vogue in three successive seasons have based their plots upon impossibilities : Mr. Anstey's *Vice Versa*, Mr. Fergus's *Called Back*, and Mr. Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Every one of these demanded as a first condition to their enjoyment the same sort of toleration, credulity, self-delusion which a fairy-tale demands ; but the popular mind accepted this necessity with a smiling face and appeared to find nothing derogatory in it. It is plain that readers discovered in these volumes a soothing refuge from the severe and ungenial truth of the Realism which has been so abundantly furnished them of late years ; but this lent only an accidental zest to the pleasure with which these romantic imaginings were read.

The fact is (and it has been a fact since stories began to be told, and will not cease to be a fact while they continue to be told) that there must ever be a larger audience for tales which in some way coddle life than for those that honestly picture it. The novelists are in love with truth, but the mass of readers have nothing less than an instinctive dislike and dread of it. There is no more common form of mental cowardice than that which lives in fear and hatred of disagreeable facts like death and grief and illness and poverty and disappointment in love ; which gladly stuffs its ears with any sort of deafening cotton, and shields its eyes with the nearest substitute for smoked glass. Do the clergy find it easy to get men to look the vital concerns of existence in the face ? On the contrary. A man who has discovered the strength and courage to take tight enough hold upon life to reason about it is already half won to religion. This idiosyncrasy of human nature fights hard against all efforts to tell the truth in fiction about "the way we live now." The familiar statement, "I see trouble and sorrow enough in actual life ; I don't want them in novels," is the natural expression of the common reluctance to see facts as they are through the eyes of any writer. One might hastily conclude that, reduced to its lowest terms, this means that what is desirable to such a person in fiction is not truth, but a lie. And yet it is notorious that, however pleasant it is to this sort of reader to take his facts with rounded corners, decorated and pranked out in brave dress, he insists upon a modicum of truth and a superficial faithfulness to reality, — only it must not be too real reality or too truthful truth, such as involves the balking of the hero's matrimonial plans, for instance.

We have not written thus much about the common taste in fiction to discredit Mr. Stevenson's work. We have said that it seems to us very charming, as it is certainly most powerful, ingenious, and artistic. For our own part, we feel that it would be a barren hypercriticism which refused to find a great pleasure in *The Strange Case* for what it is.

About *Prince Otto* there need be no more hesitation. It is a very rich, shrewd, kindly study of character — the character of the weak, good-humored prince of a petty German state chiefly, but of that of a number of others not less interesting in their way. The conception of *Otto's* mingled irresolution and pride, his high resolves and capricious performance, his gentle, pleasure-loving nature, above all his delightfully humorous sense of himself as the ruler of a nation no larger than a large farm, is a bit of genius in itself, and it is admirably carried out. He governs when it pleases him, as he hunts when the mood takes him; and so his wife and prime minister conspire to gather the threads of power into their hands and to dethrone the prince. This pair is delineated with a clearness of insight and a firmness of hand which is as true, so far as it goes, as any realism could make it. The monstrous craft and greed of Von Gondremark, the minister, working upon the right-minded princess, resentful of her weak husband's neglect of herself and his throne, and thus ready to be led by his counsels, is most closely and intimately imagined. The talk that goes on between them at their conferences has the most authentic accent of life, as indeed all the conversation in the book has. It is especially sure and truthful in the climacteric scenes wherein the reserve and dignity of nature are most difficult to maintain. For example, Princess Seraphina and Von Gondremark, having determined to make war upon a neighboring state, with the hope of advancing their interests, call the governing council together without informing the prince. He, learning of it, swells with one of his accessions of pride, and entering the council-chamber brings dismay, and countermands all orders issued for the war. Seraphina upon this bursts into this fine strain of invective:—

‘Sir, have you no shame, to come here at the eleventh hour among those who have borne the heat and burden of the day? Do you not wonder at yourself? I, sir, was here in my place, striving to uphold your dignity alone. I took counsel with the wisest I could find, while you were eating and hunting. I have laid my plans with foresight;

they were ripe for action, and then' — she choked, 'then you return — for a forenoon — and ruin all ! To-morrow, you will be once more about your pleasures ; you will give us leave once more to think and work for you ; and again you will come back, and again you will thwart what you had not the industry or knowledge to conceive. Oh ! it is intolerable. Be modest, sir. Do not presume upon the rank you cannot worthily uphold. I would not issue my commands with so much gusto — it is from no merit in yourself they are obeyed. What are you ? What have you to do in this grave council. Go,' she cried, 'among your equals ! The very people in the streets mock at you for a prince.'

The prince is, at bottom, an incapable, but only the author feels that at all times. He understands him through and through, and pictures his irresolution, his sloth, his pitiful impulses toward a better port, his cheap or pompous thought of himself, his lovable, pervading, fatal good-nature with a merciless honesty and thoroughness as far removed from the romantic method of *The Strange Case* as the method of Zola himself his.

II. BIOGRAPHY.

The value of a writer of fiction is in proportion to the value of what life has said to him and the fulness and truth with which he conveys it to us. What we care for in the novel is the individual mind working upon life ; a new sense of life presented pictorially. There are other and more direct ways of offering us this sense ; but there is none so rich, so broad, so direct, so far-reaching, and so moving. Yet one who finds pleasure in Count Tolstoi's fictive setting forth of life as he sees it cannot fail to find a pleasure of the same sort in a work belonging to a widely different department of letters, but the interest of which arises also from a fresh and individual impression of life. Henri-Frédéric Amiel viewed the world from a standpoint all his own ; and what he has to tell us as the result of fifty years or so of living makes one of the most extraordinary, curious, and valuable records in literature. Mrs. Humphrey Ward has put the *Journal Intime*,* kept during all his adult years by this remarkable man, into delightful English for us. The *Journal* was not intended for publication, but the por-

* *The Journal Intime of Henri-Frédéric Amiel*. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by Mrs. HUMPHREY WARD. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1886.

tions of it given us make no unbecoming revelations. Their interest is a purely intellectual one. The life of this unique man was, to all outward seeming, unfruitful. He was afflicted throughout the years in which a man of letters is commonly productive with a strange intellectual malady which prevented him from writing for publication. Of the multifarious causes which withheld him, the *Journal* itself offers the only complete information, and no summary of them could make this unique spirit intelligible. No one who reads the book can fail to compassionate Amiel's sterile, lonely, unhappy, and apparently meaningless life; but one acquainted with this life only from the outside might reasonably find it difficult to restrain a feeling of impatience with the seemingly whimsical silence which he imposed upon himself. The book tells us sadly how they were imposed, by no wish of his own, from without, by a disposition in which will, ambition, energising force seem to have been almost wholly wanting by an education which gave him the habit of contemplative thought, of abstract speculation unbalanced by the wholesome activities of mind through which men of his quality commonly translate themselves to the world, and by a learning which, so far from flowering in anything tangible, gave him a blighting sense of the remoteness of perfection, and so kept him silent, for he would have nothing less than perfection. While he lived, nothing appeared from his pen save certain poems which were experiments in metre and rhyme, clever mosaics, and only in the slightest degree revelations of the singularly fine and thoughtful spirit from which they emanated. The *Journal* tells us pathetically how it all was. Amiel was bitterly conscious of the one lacking ingredient which left all his other qualities unkindled and impotent. The wires were down between reflection and action, and he knew sadly that he could never connect them. His life is as curious and interesting an example of the penalties of the all-comprehending sweep of the intellect in our day as can be found in recent literature: the mind of Amiel we perceive to have been so turgid with the thought to which the crowded movement of modern investigation and speculation solicited it on every side, that it could not command itself to the sane and natural business of telling others what it saw. "The life of thought," he says, "alone seems to me to have enough elasticity and immensity, to be free enough from the irreparable; practical life makes me afraid."

If Amiel had satisfied the wishes of his friends, the hopes and expectations of all who knew him, by making and publishing books during his lifetime, he would have given us something much less precious, we know now, than the *Journal Intime*. This was his natural form of expression : the secret confidences to this spiritual record. We have him at his best here ; and if it had no other beauty, the fine, the absolute unconsciousness of the *Journal* would suffice to console us for the non-existence of anything like a planned and deliberate literary work from his hands. Amiel's failure to register himself during his lifetime is not the less a melancholy fact because we have the richest of him here, however ; for his life was what it seemed to him, and to him it was nothing less than a tragedy. He could not know that this life would justify itself in the *Journal*, and Mrs. Ward tells us that "he died sadly persuaded that his life had been a barren mistake ; whereas, all the while, — such is the irony of things, — he had been in reality working out the mission assigned him in the spiritual economy, and faithfully obeying the secret mandate which had impressed itself upon his youthful consciousness, — ' Let the living live ; and you, gather together your thoughts, leave behind you a legacy of feeling and ideas ; you will be most useful so.'

III. POETRY.

The sure touch, the simple and direct method which charmed every one, years ago, in the verse of Whittier when its theme was larger, do not fail him in the slight volume between the covers of which he has gathered his recent work, under the title of *Saint Gregory's Guest*.* Poets, for the most part, would perhaps do well to look askance at publication earlier in their declining years than their wont is ; but no one will wish for a poem in this little collection that it might have remained "undisprivacied." These poems have no revelations to make about their author ; the day for that is past ; but they are full of the old qualities, and these are not of a sort so familiar in these times that a reminder of their continued existence is inapt.

To what poet among the young singers who have their ambitions fixed upon a place of like eminence with Whittier's shall we look for the childlike faith, the sturdy piety, the unstrained but

* *Saint Gregory's Guest and Recent Poems.* By JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886.

ceaseless application of the highest truth to the facts about us? A special dignity appertains to this volume in being the ripe fruit of age, but a further and higher dignity attends it in that it gives voice to the tried faith of the poet's threescore years and upwards. His firm, unquestioning hold upon his trust in God and the final justice of His purposes is like a rebuke to the doubting and uneasy school of singers which he has lived to see arise in England and America. He has borne testimony to his faith a thousand times before, but this utterance, which, in the ordinary course of things, may not unlikely be his last, seems to us to come with especial weight. There are other aspects of the poet's temper, and not fewer of his art, which have not ceased to be interesting because familiar; but we prefer, for the moment, to emphasise the religious note of his genius, which sounds always true, yet never with conscious effect, in his work.

IV. HISTORY.

The history of Old England, familiar as it is, can never fail to be repiet with interest. All that relates to the development of institutions and surroundings which through centuries have moulded Anglo-Saxon character, and formed the "Greater Britain" of all English-speaking peoples, must ever prove to us a profitable study. To more discriminating knowledge of its history the author of *The Imperial Island** invites by leading to detailed examination of the successive epochs of *England's Chronicle in Stone*. He tells the story of the English Ages as one may trace it on their architectural monuments. Beginning with Stonehenge, some of whose giant stones still stand "unbowed by time," and other relics of the pre-historic Britons in Druidic days, the author passes on to make descriptive mention of the structures which remain from the four centuries of Roman domination,—the ruins of that seventy miles of ancient wall which hedged the northern limit of imperial power, and of those grand and gloomy fortresses which sentinelled the coast, as "strongly knit as crags that front the sea." The next group is of scattered fragments of six centuries more, when Jutes and Saxons, Danes and Angles filled the country with vicissitudes, and left it fashioned into Saxon England. Then came the

* *The Imperial Island. England's Chronicle in Stone.* By JAMES F. HUNNEWELL. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886.

Norman period, so prolific in substantial castles and cathedrals, grim keeps and comely churches, extending from the eventful conquest in 1066 to the Elizabethan era, which ushers in the modern life and history of *The Imperial Island*.

The method of the book is well wrought out, and, though exhaustive in detailed description, well sustains the interest of the reader. The larger part is naturally devoted to those noblest of all monuments, the grand cathedrals, abbeys, churches in which the Christian art and piety of ages past found beautiful expression. And yet no architectural monument is overlooked, from the most ancient relics of the British and the Saxon periods down to the royal and patrician palaces of modern times. Even the latest public buildings devoted to benevolence or for some civil or state use, with some memorial monuments, are touched upon; thus giving a completeness to the book, and rendering it a valuable thesaurus on the themes of which it treats. The careful references made to recognised authorities, in which the literature of England is particularly rich, enhance the importance of this work; though it needs no assurance of the author to convince the reader that *The Imperial Island* is no mere compilation of facts culled from earlier workers in the same field of research. For that he has made notes upon the several spots described is clear from the enthusiastic tone with which he treats the points of interest, and from the tinge of personality which flavors his descriptions.

The work is liberally interleaved with more than sixty illustrations, reproduced for the royal octavo page by the Heliotype process from selected engravings, several of them dating from the seventeenth century. The source from which each illustration is derived is indicated, and the dates of the original engravings for the most part given.

V. THEOLOGY.

The volume of Lectures by the Rev. Dr. Dix, entitled *The Gospel and Philosophy*,* is of so much more than usual importance, that we shall give a tolerably full outline of the seven discourses which it contains. Six of these lectures were first preached in Trinity Chapel in 1880, during the Lenten season; and were afterwards printed in *The Church Eclectic*. In re-

* *The Gospel and Philosophy*. By the Rev. MORGAN DIX, S. T. D., D. C. L. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. 1886.

sponse to many urgent requests, they were again preached in the same place during the Lent of 1886, after having been carefully revised and enlarged, and one of them being entirely rewritten. The seventh sermon is the one preached by Dr. Dix before the University of the South, at the Annual Commencement of 1885. An "Analysis of the Lectures" is a very valuable substitute for the usual "Table of Contents," showing clearly the great care and thoroughness with which the whole material has been digested in the thought of the preacher.

The title of the first lecture is, "CHRIST and Christianity," and opens with a consideration of the prevalent desire to readjust the Christian religion to the moral and social conditions of the day:—a desire due partly to the dread of free-thinkers, and partly to ignorance of Christian doctrine.

The outspoken hostility to "dogma" is mercilessly analysed:—

There are those in this age who object to nothing so much as to dogma. They say that CHRIST must be preached, indeed, but not as a dogma or a doctrine; that the Christianity which the world needs must be neither doctrinal nor dogmatic. I do not know what they mean; the language sounds unintelligible. No man can logically retain reverence or respect for JESUS CHRIST who does not believe that JESUS CHRIST was what He declared Himself to be; and no one can state, intelligibly, what JESUS CHRIST is, as He described Himself, without the use of dogmatic terms. To tell who and what CHRIST is without the terms of dogmatic theology is as impossible as to describe a machine without using the terminology of mechanics. CHRIST is an objective fact; not a sentiment, nor an airy ideal, nor an evanescent vibration in the thought. To state what the fact is, one must speak in language applicable to facts. What do they mean who harp thus incessantly on the need of getting free from dogma? Are they afraid to ask, or to be asked, the question which the LORD put to Peter, 'Whom do men say that the Son of Man is?' We have a right to ask it; we must ask it; and we must have a plain, sharp, clean-cut reply. Who is He? What is He? Do you shrink from such queries? You cannot mean, surely, that it makes no difference who or what He is, the founder of that religion in which you say you believe. If it is a matter of consequence, then must we have a plain reply; that reply is, and must be, dogmatic; no other reply would be intelligible. It is given, fearlessly and clearly, in the Catholic Creed: 'God of God, Light of Light; Very God of Very God; Being of One Substance with the Father; yea, moreover, He by whom all things were made and by

whom all things consist.' That is dogma ; that is the Christian Faith ; and perhaps the secret of the dread of dogma lies in a disbelief of that paramount fact. Men dread to make St. Peter's confession ; they dread still more to face the consequences if they deny it.

The second Lecture treats of "The darkness of the Old World, and God's way of enlightening it." Man is shown to need three things for his religious development : 1. Knowledge of the Truth ; 2. Desire of Righteousness ; 3. Love of pure and perfect beauty. But, at the time when CHRIST came, Man had lost the knowledge of the truth ; he did not love righteousness ; he was sunk in carnal sin. And how did GOD, in CHRIST, set men right ? Not by supplying fresh material for philosophic speculation, but by revealing objective truth, and that truth cannot be stated without dogmatic terms.

The fourth Lecture is devoted to proving that "the anti-sacramental and anti-dogmatic spirit in the Church is essentially the same as the spirit of philosophic Rationalism." How sharply is this suggestive comparison drawn ! —

Here stands a group of men saying, 'We are Christians ; we believe in CHRIST ; but we want nothing doctrinal or dogmatic ; we accept the Bible, but we want no dogmatic religion.' Some way off is another group who say : 'We cordially agree with you in your disgust for doctrine and dogma ; but you do not go far enough ; more consistent than you, we reject the Bible and religion of any kind ; the old theology is obsolete verbiage ; men have outgrown it ; let it die out of mind.' The distance between these groups may seem far ; but the path from one to the other is direct and smooth.

In the fifth Lecture we find a description of "the evil work of Philosophy." In this we light upon a keen handling of the notion that Christianity was started with *no* particular organisation : —

It may be alleged that there was, originally, no organisation of any kind, in Christianity : that it was left to men to settle for themselves, what shape if any, the Kingdom should take, with the right in reversion to alter it at any future day. Against this view lies, first, a presumption, which could not be stronger. That GOD, who is LORD and King over the heavenly hierarchies, with their thrones, dominations, principalities, and powers, who was Governor of His people Israel, directing in every particular the manner of their national existence, who had announced the intended establishment of a grander and stronger Kingdom, should have left everything in confusion in that Kingdom, to take whatever shape chance, or luck, or the taste and fancy of the

primitive neophytes might determine : this is not only incredible, it is at variance with any reasonable conception of a Kingdom, and with the prophetic intimations of the object and results of its establishment. Nor yet does this theory accord with the acts of CHRIST, as when He gave the Keys of the Kingdom to Peter, and commissioned His Apostles for their long work ; nor with the glimpses, in the pastoral Epistles, of offices, orders, and grades, distributions of power and assignments of duty, nor with the distinct appearance of an Episcopate in Crete and Ephesus before the death of S. Paul. And, thirdly, the theory is contradicted by the uniform tenor of Church history, having no support in any writer of repute in ancient times, and being substantially contradicted by those who have given us an account of the origins of our religion. No better instance could be given of the German method of evolving ideas out of the inner consciousness than this amazing conception of an absolutely amorphous Apostolic Christianity. It amounts to a demonstration of the credulity of rationalism, as applied to ecclesiastical questions.

The only other alternative to the true Church ground is, "that the Church was originally Congregational or Presbyterian, but that this primitive and simple type of government afterward degenerated into Episcopacy." But strange results must then follow ! —

For, first, it must follow that the Religion taught by GOD Incarnate, the sum of previous revelations, and the last that shall be made, the Gospel for which the men of the Old World waited and by which the men of the New World live that this Holy Religion, this pure and sincere gift to us in our deep distress, was, within fifty years after its establishment, marred, defaced, and practically subverted, by men who had seen the LORD, and were companions and pupils of the Apostles, who died the martyr's death, and have left behind them names immortal for their virtues, their zeal, and their faith.

Secondly, it must follow that such men as Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp, Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyprian, and their contemporaries, brought in 'another Gospel,' and that their lives were devoted to the propagation of a mischievous development.

Thirdly, it follows that what converted the Roman Empire and worked a new life into the heart of the Old World was not real primitive Christianity, but a sham and fraudulent travesty thereof, a strange hybrid of sacramental, liturgical, and Episcopal errors, than which nothing could have been more foreign to the mind of the Apostles and of CHRIST.

Fourthly, it follows that, for some fifteen hundred years, Christianity did, as it were, vanish from the earth, not to reappear till the sixteenth

century, when it was born again in Germany and Switzerland, with an ex-monk and a French layman for its midwives.

Fifthly, it follows, Christianity which thus shortly after its first appearance deteriorated into an unspiritual, superstitious, ecclesiastical formalism, did, on its reappearance in pristine purity, bring forth within twenty years such fruit of lawlessness and riotous living, of dissensions and strifes, of pride and self-will, as terrified and confounded even the Reformers themselves, and led some to doubt greatly of what they had done.

And, finally, the present outcome of this pure, revised, restored Christianity is seen in a chaos of 'denominations,' a host of warring sects, which can neither teach nor govern, nor maintain the respect of mankind.

In a foot-note to this Lecture, Dr. Dix gives us a remarkable eulogium of S. Thomas Aquinas, from the pen of an eminent Presbyterian divine, the Rev. Dr. G. T. Shedd, which is well worth reading in these days :—

Pope Leo XIII., in his recent encyclical, perceives this truth and acts upon it. In reference to the defence of Christianity against the strenuous attack now being made upon it, he advises and urges his clergy to study Thomas Aquinas. No wiser advice has emanated from the Vatican for a long time. Protestant theologians of all denominations will agree cordially with the Roman Pontiff upon this point. No more powerful reasoning against atheism and materialism, no stronger defence of the principles of ethics and natural religion, can be found than that of the 'angelic' doctor. And in respect to the doctrines of revealed religion, the enunciation and support which they have obtained in the *Summa Theologica* make this treatise one of the bulwarks of the faith. What is distinctively Papal and Roman will not, of course, command the judgment of the Protestant ; but this constitutes only a fraction of the sum total. The strength and energy, the acumen and industry, the absorption and devoutness of a mind resembling and equal to that of Aristotle — who in the school of Plato got the name of the Intellect — all this fine flowering and fruitage of the rarest human intelligence was consecrated, life-long, in scholastic seclusion, and monastic abstinence, to the examination and defence of the essential elements of the Christian faith. The traveller from Rome to Naples sees from the railway, on the heights above Rocca Secca, the monastery where this ethereal spirit obtained some of his education, and did some of his work. The scene and the scenery are sympathetic and suggestive. The sharp line of the black mountain against the dazzling sky, with not a tree or a shrub to interfere between the earth and the infinite abyss of heaven, is emblematic of that

keen and accurate vision that penetrates like a microscope, and that unyielding grasp that never lets anything slip.

Surely, it is a hopeful sign of the times when a Presbyterian divine says, "that Protestant theologians of all denominations will agree cordially with the Roman Pontiff" in urging the clergy to study S. Thomas Aquinas!

In the sixth Lecture, "the question at issue between the Gospel and Philosophy" is stated, and exemplified in regard to the Atonement, the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments. The Gospel is "an objective, real Religion," while Philosophy offers us only "a subjective, evolved Religion."

The hopeful signs of a desire for a return to Unity among Christians are not forgotten by Dr. Dix. His opening allusion to the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom — a body numbering many thousands of Anglicans, Orientals, and Romanists — is especially timely: —

There is, thank God, a widespread desire for unity among Christians. It is growing stronger day by day. It is no surprise to those who are aware that now for many, many years the members of a great organisation extending throughout the Christian world have been praying every day, in the self-same words, that our Lord will grant to His Church that peace and unity which are according to His will. This is one of the most hopeful signs of the time; the clear dawning of the day when the flocks shall be gathered together* in one fold, under one shepherd, and at evening time there shall be light.†

The closing discourse — the University Sermon — is on "the full assurance of Faith." It explains clearly the right and the wrong use of Reason.

There are thousands and ten thousands of minds bewildered among the "dissolving views" of religious opinion, who would be marvellously aided and strengthened by a careful perusal of these admirable sermons. The preacher's note is clear as a trumpet sounding for battle. And well it may be: for it is the identical note that sounded for the battle in which Primitive Christianity conquered the Roman and the Barbarian world. The sum and substance of it all is, "I BELIEVE IN ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH."

* *Genesis* xxix. 8.

† *Zechariah* xiv. 7.

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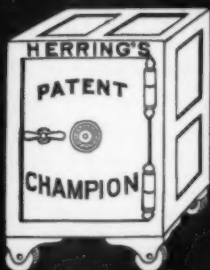
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